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Dr. Kunhali. V

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Sufism in Kerala

by

Dr. Kunhali. V

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The principal objective of the Publication Division of the University of Calicut is to publish textbooks and other research oriented and socially relevant books at a reasonable price, without compromising in quality of production. All the books brought out so far have been received by the reading public, comprising mainly students and teachers, with overwhelming enthusiasm.

This book, *Sufism in Kerala* by Prof. Kunhali. V, is an outcome of the research work done by the author. The Publication Division acknowledges its profound gratitude to the Vice- Chancellor, Members of the Syndicate, Members of the Editorial Committee and Prof. Kunhali. V., for Publications and for their whole hearted co-operation in publishing this volume.

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Publication Officer

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Preface

A Research Scholar who studies the social formation of Muslims of Kerala comes across many facts dormant and non-existent among Muslim, communities in other parts of the country. Even the absence of some of the factors like a Muslim dynasty to extent patronage to Ulema and keep them under surveillance is significant. That is why the Ulema, Sufis and Sayyids here did not form an aristocracy as part of nobility. They lived as pious and dedicated leaders of masses who were held in high esteem and led the people in thick and thin.

This study on Sufism in Kerala was undertaken on the advice of my respected teacher late Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. Sitting in his class on Sufism I could conceive existence of Sufi elements among Muslims of Kerala. As all the non-Urdu speaking Muslims are classified as 'Madrasi' in North India, no enquiry for a Muslim cultural identity was made. Lack of Persian sources kept off British and Indian Historians from the study of Sufism in Kerala.

Enquires in this direction seemed to be a hazard, because the first sentence I had to read was 'The extensive Sufi Missionary activities found elsewhere in Indian Islam is not evident in South India; (IH Qureshi, Muslim community...) unfortunately repeated by R.E. Miller too after living in Malappuram the heart land of Mappilas for eighteen years. But he evinced a keen interest in the subject while I discussed with him years before.

Sufism had its characteristics, evident with regional influences and variations everywhere. Among Mappilas Sufism was only subjected to and abiding sheriah. In Hidayat Ul Adhkiya (1521) the manual of Sufism in Malabar it is said:

Tariqah and Haqigah are like that Oh; My brother

You can not attain them (both) without acts of Shariah

This subservient nature of Sufism to Shariah maybe one reason why it

escaped the attention of historians. Athar Abbas Rizvi's work on Sufism too contains few pages on Sufism of Kerala, a repetition of Ibn-Battutas observation on Kazeruni sufis.

Richard Maxwell Eaton's Sufis of Bijapur' (New Jersy 1978) had not been published Schirpmel Anflemarie's studies (1973) were not available. It was against such odds that this study was undertaken -The study is mainly confined to Malabar region. But I have purposefully excluded certain very popular centres where Barakah and Karamah are commercialized.

With a strong conviction of progressive Muslim thought I had an aversion to veneration of tomb and Pirs (custodians of Jarams) belief in talisman astrology and sorcery. As studies progressed it was cleared that these were exploitation of Pirs and character of its decadent stage and not real Sufism, which was originally an aristocratic and intellectual movement.

Some friends were apprehensive that I was trying to propagate something anti-Islamic. I am not a protagonist of Sufism but as a student of history it is my duty to tell the world what really happened. My personal convictions should not cast shade on presentation of facts.

Sufism is the most important factor that helped the community to survive and cement its unity to bargain in the process of secular development. Sufi bonds have unpredictable force. No one would now deny that it was Sufi bonds that helped Islam to survive under communist regime in Soviet Russia and in the unity of Afghans; Sufi allegiance has a great role. A student of history has to highlight the importance of diverse factors in the process of development of a nation or community.

As a student in elementary Madrasa I had occasions to see Talisman, chanted threads and water being prepared. But during the course of the present study I could understand the relevance of these articles as means of flow of Barakah in the Tafifa stage in popular Sufism. Here in this stage attachment to Sufism was not the longing for spiritual elevations but only fulfilment of some worldly desire with the Barakah of the saint. It is true that these people also practised certain Awards and Adhkars.

Sufism in Kerala had some special features. As the Sufi orders spread direct from Persia by the sea, the movement was free from strong tinges

of other faiths end practices but was only acts subject to Sheriah. Hence a Mappila Muslim with a strong religious conviction, till the beginning of 20th century was bound to be connected with a Sufi order, or would be regularly reciting a Dhikr (special prayer) of an order.

Shahid (Martyr) was an integral part of Mappila society from the days of their fight against "worshippers of cross" (Europeans) as theologians preached. Martyrs were revered in other Muslim communities too. The intentional martyrdom in 19th century Mappila agrarian revolts gave rise to veneration of Martyr saints. Miracles were attributed to their Jaran and as in the Taifa stage of Sufism, their tombs came to be regarded as the physical structures on which their Karama were manifest and the custodians of the Jaram is gained the same position of a pir (descendant of a Sufi and custodian of his Dargha) in Taifa stage of Sufism.

Even in trade Sufism had its positive role. Many sufis were patron saints of Mariners. On perils on the sea large sums were vowed and written in books, which were collected by agents of the respective Khanqahs when vessels anchored in habours. The foundation of Baghdad, opening of waterways to far in upper Euphrates and Tigris, leaving only a very short land route to Mediterranean ports, avoiding month's long hazardous journey, development of consuming class with high purchase capacity of Abbasid aristocracy, and five centuries of Pax-Islamica (Islamic peace) all increased trade profit many folds. A considerable percentage of this profit was spent on charity, on construction of mosques and madrassas, and on grants and gifts. On all former harbour towns, one can see grand masjids. Centuries after as people looked with amazement on these magnificent structures. Stories and legends came to be composed on their foundations. The mitqal mosque of Calicut with five storeys, which was believed to have originally seven sotreys was one such construction. This flow of wealth in the form of charity to pious and holy men was one of the factors in spread of Muslims in trade centres who were as much as 20% as Barossa stated.

Veneration of Sayyids was an important feature of Mappila society. There was a constant migration of Sayyids from Terim, in Hadramawt of south Yemen. We notice large scale migration in 17th century due to

Portuguese depredations and partly due to the establishment of Safavid shia Kingdom in Persia. Rulers recognized them as heads of the community. The Ba-Alavi Sufi Mamburam Suyyid Alavi Tangal was recognized as head of Mappila Muslims of Ernad by Zamorin. On the occasion of succession of Makhdums, robes of honour were also sent by the Zamorin.

Battle to subdue the enemy of soul (lust) and to capture the treasures or princess (aim/god) as in padmavat of Malik Jaishi were used as allegories in Sufism else where in India, while maritime allegories and similies were used mostly in Mappila hagiographic works. Body was compared to ship, mind to captain, Iblis to pirate and Haq the ultimate truth to port of destination. Or it was an example from pearl harvesting. Who ever wants pearl (haq) let him embark the ship (of tariqah) and dive for pearl. Such teachings of Sufism made the movement popular, meaningful and universal.

We have earlier noted that Sufism was not parallel to Shariah but merged with it as part of theological studies. Hence all the theologians and Arabic scholars composed Dhikr Awards, Malas and Mouluds which people took as part of religious faith. Thus Haddad Rateeb could be recited by any Muslim by heart. Muhiyiddin Mala, the song in praise of Abdul Quadir Jilani was considered second to Quran and were reverently sung in every house hold on appointed hours.

Veneretion of Prophet Muhammad was an important aspect of Sufism in Kerala. Malas were composed on his birth, marriage, and torments wars and on his wives Khadeeja, Ayisha, daughter Fathima and on all those close to him. He was regarded as the real cause for creation of Universe and the first thing created was, light of Muhammad (Noor Muhammad). He is addressed not as Muhammad. But as son of Amina, Al-Ameen, Ashraf al Khalaq, khatimul Ambiya, Khatimul Mursaleen, Sayyidul Ambiya and Habibullah. Every Mala invariably contained praise of prophet. People listened to such Malas. They may sigh, weep and lament and would build a consciousness of one's own sins. Then would follow the appeal for intercession to God with the barakah of the saint or by the Daraja' (elevated status) of Muhammad on the Day of Judgment.

There were also performance of Rateeb and Aravana, dances with music or even striking with dagger or piercing the tongues or cheeks with

iron bars by trained performers.

The sufi practice of Arbainiyya was not unknown which the people called 'Jinnu Seva' (Propitiating Jinnu) because after the rite of Jinnu Seva (Arabiniyya=forty days retreat to solitude) that sufis could perform miracles and people believed that miracles were performed with the help of 'Jinnu' propitiated and now under his command.

Sufism contributed greatly to the formation of the present Mappila community. The concept of Shahid preached in 16th century and continued in practice in 19th century agrarian outbreaks gave rise for later generations a sense of sacrifice for the community. The Ulema and Sufi Sayyid charisma gave creative leadership. This resulted in social harmony, solidarity, and at the same time in reformist movements led by the same class. The solidarity contributed to political unity and power for bargain. In fact the chief architect of coalition Government (first in the country) was Sayyid Abdurahiman Bafaqui Tangal whose political realism convinced him as the only way for Muslims sharing political power at the same time keeping the distinct identity. This also barred the flow of Muslim youth to revolutionary parties which was in fact the result of the spread of modern education and a reaction for liberation from orthodoxy, conservativism and land lordism.

List of Abbreviations

B.S.O.A.S	: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
E.I	: Encyclopaedia of Islam
I.A.	: Indian Antiquity
I.C.	: Islamic Culture
Proc. I.H.C	: Proceedings of Indian History Congress
J.A.S.	: Journal of Asian Studies
J.I.H	: Journal of Indian History
J.K.S	: Journal of Kerala Studies
Adhkiya	: Shaykh Zaynuddin (Senior), Hidayat al-Adhkiya Ila Tariqat al-Awliya.
Manaqib Waliyyullahi	: Abdul Aziz Musaliyar, Manaqib Waliyullahi al-Rabbani wa al- Ghawth al - Samadani al-Shaykh Abdul Qadir Sani
Mappila Sahithyam	: C.N.Ahmad Moulavi & K.K.Mohammed Abdul Kareem, Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Parambaryam.
Muhiyiddin	: Shaykh Muhiyi al-Din Abdul qadir Jilani.
Tuhfat	: Shaykh Zayunuddin (Junior), Tuhfat al-Mujahidin fi Badi Ahwal al-Burtuqaliyyin (Tr) S.M.H.Nainar.
Religion and Politics	: K.A. Nizami, Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century

Introduction

Geographically separated and culturally isolated the 'Mappila' Muslims of Kerala are a little known community in the country, though 'Malabari' is more familiar elsewhere in the Islamic World. Authors writing on Muslims of the country generalised all the communities discarding their separate identities. Even I.H.Qureshi maintained the wrong impression of the complete absence of Sufism in 'South India', and the question of any attempt to study the Sufi elements did not arise as the Dhothi wearing non-Urdu-speaking Mappila did not have any separate identity other than 'Madrasi'. Even Richard Maxwel Eaton writing on Sufis of Bijapur could only quote Annemerie Schimmel's words on the mystic poem of a 'certain Zain al-Din'. Although Athar Abbas Rizvi in his exhaustive work on 'History of Sufism in India (1978) has given a small appendix on 'The Sufism of South Indian Coast and Islands.' Being the first ever published notes of Sufism in Kerala by a modern researcher, it is limited only to Ibn Battuta's reference of Kazeruni Sufis.

One wonders how such a gross negligence by historians could be accounted. The reason may be explained in three ways. Firstly Mappilas did not have a tradition of Persian historical works, which could catch the attention of any researcher in medieval history. Secondly whatever material is available is in Arabic and 'Arabi-Malayalam', they could not be used except by one who knows Arabic and Malayalam both. Thirdly the materials are not only unpublished but many of them are scattered in private collections or in Mosque-libraries. There was neither any political authority nor any generous patron who could have attempted a collection of these materials. This being the first attempt in this field my difficulties in completing this work were many. An extensive field study had to be undertaken, almost

all the shrines had to be visited, the custodians of 'Jarams' or living Shaykhs of active Tariqahs had to be interviewed, and Manaquib literature, Moulids and Malappattukal had to be collected. To sort out granules of historical facts from the exaggerated eulogies of local enthusiasts on their beloved saints was a strenuous task. So was the problem of analysis of local histories too.

Islam was introduced in the wake of the advent of Arabs with Kerala. With the foundation of Baghdad, for the first time the capital of Islamic Empire came to be connected by water with trade centres of the East. But Basra had the envied position of commercial centre. With its immense wealth of Eastern spices trade there flourished great colleges of learning, Madrasas and Khanqahs. The contribution of Basra in the development of Sufism need not be discussed at length. Hence it is quite natural that Malik Ibn Dinar (d.130A.H/748A.D) at Khurasan, a close disciple of Hasan al Basari came to be regarded as the hero of the introduction of Islam into Kerala. A large number of pious and learned men with the zeal of proselytisation in the very first wave of Islamic expansion might have travelled to far off lands for it is said that "Mariners and traders encouraged adventurous preachers and mystics to accompany them due to a number of reasons. Firstly as experts in religious law and the practical side of theology, they acted as Imams in congregational prayers, and as peace-makers and judges in solving disputes involving the Sheria. Secondly they offered spiritual comfort to boat passengers undertaking voyages who were useful as intermediaries between merchants and local authorities whenever the former were involved in political or economic crisis. Another important factor that helped the growth of Sufism in Kerala was the migration of Sayyids from South Arabia. Though this migration started as early as 12th century, it was from the 18th century onwards that the Ba-Alavis, Ba-Faqihs, Jifris and Aydarus Sayyids having Sufi allegiance began migrating to Malabar. The largescale migration of Sayyids in the 14th century resulted in the formation of the community of 'Muwalladun' from which it appears that the name Mappila originated[1]. The different Sayyid houses migrated to Kerala formed into one Tariqah, viz., Tariqah Qadiri al-Aydarusiyya wal-Alawiyya. The migration of the Bukhara tangals of Hamadan in the 16th century gave a stimulus to the Suhrwardi Tariqah and the Makhdums

of Ponnani (from 1521 onwards) were Chishsti Sufis. The Naqshabandis had a great following in Kerala once, while the Shadili Tariqah had a small follwoing and Nurishah Tariqah is the latest entry, with little followers.

Disputes between Tariqahs had been going on even in the beginning of the 17th century[2]. In 1921 the Naqshabandis were excommunicated and were banned from mosques. The Kondotty-Ponnani kaitharkam (disputes), the Qibla disputes and Wahhabi-Sunni disputes gave rise to vast 'Arabi-Malayalam' literature. These with the hagiographic literature formed one important source material for this study.

The study revealed mainly the characteristics of Taifa Stage of Sufism in Kerala, with its inherent belief in Karamah of saints. One important aspect noted was that here Sufism was subject to Shariah. Asceticism and celibacy were not practised, for they believed that 'The true saint goes in and out amongst the people and eats and sleeps with them, buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse and never forgets god for a single moment[3].

True to their Qadiri adherence, Abdul Qadir Jilani's example of 'combing the life of the Madrasa with that of the Khanqahs' prompted the Mappilas to develop their unique 'Pallai-Dars'. Dhikrs were chanted, Moulids were sung, Rateebs were performed and Nerchas (Urs) were celebrated. With its history of 400 years of 'Jihad' against 'Worshippers of cross' the community developed profound respect for Shahids (Martyrs), and martyr saints were held in high esteem by the Mappilas. Many of the saints were considered patron saints of the locality and were adored by people irrespective of religion.

A unique tradition of saints themselves leading the army and taking part in the battle is noted in Malabar. Never subject to Muslim political power, the Sufis, mystics, theologians and Sayyids were supreme in the community commanding respect and giving a creative leadership in thick and thin, thus helping the community to attain its present status in the life of Kerala.

The terms Malabar and Kerala are invariably used in the study. Though they are identical in Medieval context, Malabar means the South western

coast in general and in social context means the culture area of Malabar.

Muslims developed their own dialect, Arabi-Malayalam, a mixture of Malayalam, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Tamil and Telugu written in Arabic script. Being directly in contact with the Muslim world social institutions like Sufism also developed here.

Survey of the Sources

A preconceived notion of the absence of Sufism in South India resulted in clear negligence of the study of Sufi activities and vast Sufi literature in Kerala and South India in general.

Numerous works on Sufism (Tasawwuf) are produced in Arabic in Kerala and some of them as early as the 14th century A.D. Still unpublished, many of them are in the private collections and "Dars-libraries". They are the libraries attached to the mosques where pupils undergo theological studies under an eminent theologian, who is often the Qazi of the mosque. They live in the Masjid and take their meals from different houses of the locality, who in turn engage these students for tuitions to the children of these houses. Books for their instructions, Kitabs as they are called, are mostly copied. People contribute such Kitabs as a sacred deed to these libraries as Waqf. Hence the whole library is a Waqf, the result being that the books could not be carried out of the mosque and hence could not catch the attention of a researcher. Not properly treated many of the important unpublished works have perished. At the same time some have survived in manuscript copies.

The next important sources are the innumerable Moulud Malas, which give a brief history but detailed descriptions of the saint's piety, his maqam in Sufism nearness to God and his miracles. Next to the Moulud Malas, mostly written in Arabic, are the 'Nerchappattukal'-Nercha Songs. They are published poems in Arabi-Malayalam and recited on appointed days in every household as a means to bring in the saint's blessings.

Arabic Works on Sufism

The arabic works produced in Kerala on Sufism are mainly theological in nature, because Islam was propagated in Kerala by Arabs, who are mostly followers of the Shafi school of thought. Hence there is a great emphasis

on 'Sunna' as al-Shaykh Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali al-Mabari said in his 'Adhkiya[4].

مَا زَالَ عَبْدِيْ بِالنَّوَافِلِ يَقْرُبُ
حَتّٰى اَكُوْنَ لَهٗ يَدًا وَّالرِّجْلَا

"My servant comes near to Me with sunna until I become his hands and legs". This line from the highly philosophical poem means that with the strict observance of Sunna man becomes completely pure until his limbs move only to My command, or I become manifest through him. It is due to this greater emphasis on Sunnah that the works appeared to be theological in nature. Moreover, ascetic practices common to Sufis are not emphasised in the work, this being one reason for such works escaping the attention of scholars. They describe the meaning of the Sufi, his qualities and the qualities of Faqir and Alim and the path a Sufi should follow.

Hidayat al-Adhkiya Ila Tariqat al Awliya

Commonly known as Adhikiya, this hook is the most important Sufi work in Arabic produced in Kerala and it has been recognized as one of the text books for the 6th standard in the Madrasas run by Samastha Islam Mata Vidyabhyasa Board[5].

The work was composed by al-Shaykh Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali al-Mabari of Ponnani. His forefathers migrated from Arabia and settled on Coramandal Coast known as Mabar to the Arabs, hence the name Mabari. When Ibn-Battuta visited Mangalore, the Qadi was Badr al-Din Al-Maabri. He was also known as Zayn al -Din the first, or Zayn al-Din the elder. Born on 12th Shaban 871 A.H (1466 A.D), he was the author of many books and founder of the great mosque of Ponnani. When he was born the family was settled in Cochin and later moved to Ponnani.

Al-Shaykh Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali[6] learnt Tafsir and hadith from Shaykh al -Din Ahmd Ibn Ismail al -Yamani. For his higher education he went to Calicut which was the then centre of Muslim culture. He continued his studies under Qadi Fakhr al-Din Abu Bakr Ibn Qasi Ramadan at Chaliyam. Then joined the Dars of Qadi Abd al-Rahman Adamil-Misri and got permission for reciting Hadith. Then he became a student of al-Shaykh al-Jalil Khwaja Qutbuddin and Khaja Izzal-Din Chishti and specialised in Chishtiya and

Qadiriyya Tariqahs.Later he got permission for Tabligh and Talqin, from Thabit Ibn Ayn Ibn Muhammad al-Shahidi. Shams al-Din al-Jawahari, Zakariyya al-Ansari were also among his teachers. It was during his time that the Portuguese landed in Malabar. He wrote to the kings of Muslim countries asking their support for Muslims who fought under the Zamorins against the Portuguese. He also composed poems instigating Muslims to fight against the Portuguese. He died on 16th Shaban, 928 A.H. (1521A.D) and was buried in the graveyard of the mosque of Ponnani. He is highly esteemed as the founder of the great seat of Arabic learning at Ponnani[7].

Adkhiya is a Sufistic poem in which the poet says that piety is the basis of true happiness, and following passion is the source of all evil. Then he explains that the true path to the goal consists of Shariah, Tariqah, and Haqiqah. He explains it by an allegory– Shariah is like a boat, Tariqah is like an ocean and Haqiqah like the precious pearl. Whoever aspires for the pearl, must embark on the ship and then dive in the ocean. He further clarifies that Shariah means to hold fast to the religion of the Creator and to establish it by adopting the good and avoiding the evil. Tariqah to him was adherence to godliness and mental control like abstinence from desires. Haqiqah is attaining the goal and witnessing the light of God's revelation which came to be obtained only through Shariah.

This book is famous both in and outside India. Annamarie Schimmel counted it as one of the important contributions to Islamic literature in India[8]. It was much appreciated and commented upon by scholars. Muhammed Navavi (d.c.1888) of Java has written a commentary on it by the name *Salalin Al Fudula* and Abubakar Shah of Dimyat.... has written another commentary known as *Kifayat al-Atqiyah*. Both of them were published from Egypt on many occasions. Abd al-Aziz al-Mabari, himself son of Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali, has written a commentary on the work known as *Maslak al-Atqiya* and a summary of it by the name *Irshad at-Atibba*.

Maslak al-Atqiya

The book was composed by Abdul-Aziz-al-Mabari son of Zayn ul-Din Ibn Ali. He was the Makhdum after his father, and died in 994 A.H. (1586 A.D). The work is a Sharah of the poem Hidayat al -Adhkiya. It has been published.

The author says that he decided to write a sharah for Adhkiya as it was very brief and to explain the difficult terms and to simplify it for the students. It is here that we get the life history of Ibn-Ali. According to him, his father Al-Shaykh Zayn ul-Din Ibn Ali was wavering on the path he should choose. Then one day on 24th Shaban 914 A.H(1504 A.D) he had a dream in which he saw somebody advising him that the path of Tasawwuf was to be preferred because Tasawwuf brings man nearer to his target. The man of his dream added that if anybody wanted to cross a river with a strong current he would have to start from the upper point to reach his destination, because if he started from the point just opposite to his destination he would be taken by the current to a place far below the destination. After this dream Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali decided to take up the path of Tasawwuf and composed this poem Hidayat al Adhkiya....

Qasidah fi-Bayan al-Tasawwuf

The book was composed by Shaykh Ibn Muhammad al-Jifri born at Tarim in Hadramawt. He migrated to Kerala and came to Calicut in 1159 A.H./1746 A.D. Introduced to the Zamorin, he was received with honour and respect and facilities were made for his comfortable stay at Kuttichira in Calicut[9]. A great scholar, he was author of many works.

It is unpublished and a manuscript is available with Qadi N.Muhammad Koya of Calicut.

Qasidah Fi-Bayan al-Faqir

This poem was composed by Shaykh Ibn Muhammad al-Jifri (d.1222 A.H/1807 A.D). As the title indicates it is the description of the qualities of a Faqir (a perfect Sufi). In addition to the qualities mentioned in the previous poem, a Sufi should attain some more attributes to attain the status of Faqir. Here again the poet describes them in terms of the words contained in the title Faqir.

The poem is unpublished. The manuscript is available with Qadi. N. Muhammed Koya of Calicut.

Kanz al-Barahin

The book was composed by Shaykh Ibn Muhammad Al -Jifri (d.1222

A.H/1807.A.D). It was completed in 1199 AH (1784AD) as mentioned by the author in the end of the work[10]. Its manuscript copied by Qadi Muhyi al-Din Ibn Ali[11] of Calicut, is available in Jifri house at Calicut. The work is published and written copies are also available in many libraries in Kerala.

The book is divided into three parts. The first section is an invocation of the Muslims in general and "Ahl al-Bayt" in particular. The second section is devoted to the biography of the Prophet and Ahl-al-Bayt and the last one is on Tasawwuf.

The section on Ahl al-Bayt forms the major part of the work. Herein, he emphasises the honourable position of Ahl al-Bayt with the Prophet at the head. Hence it is the duty of all Muslims to treat them with honour, respect, love and affection. He stresses that 'nobility in birth alone cannot make one's position elevated or do any good to him'. Ahl al-Bayt should refine themselves, acquire knowledge and be pious. History shows that men of noble birth like Abu Lahab[12] and Kanan[13] were unbelievers while Salman al -Farisi was a man of honour. Therefore Ahal al-Bayt should be careful, truthful, righteous and pious, for all this knowledge should be acquired.

Then he gives the biography of eminent members of Ba-Alavi family like Al-Hasan Ibn al-Habib, Abdulla Ibn Alavi al-Haddad, Al-Sayyid Ali Ibn Alavi and others.

Then he stresses the importance of devotion to God in the next section. He says: Ali once requested the Prophet to direct him to the shortest method of knowing God which was the easiest for His servants, and the most pleasing for Him. Prophet told him perpetuating the remembrance of God in solitude is the best way. The Prophet himself had done so by reciting "La ilaha Illallah Wahdahu La Sharika Lahu". (There is no god other than Allah; He is one without equals). Then he emphasises the importance of chanting 'Awrad' and 'Adhkar' like 'La Illaha Illallah'. In the end of the section he says 'who ever preserves in mind the forty traditions of Prophet mentioning the importance of 'La ilaha Illallah' will be rewarded in the hereafter as learned Faqir.

In the next section he discusses the importance of Sufism and its various grades. Faqir is the leader of the Sufi, Sufi the leader of Faqih and

Faqih the leader of the rest. Tariqah is the Shariah and Haqiqah is obtained through Shariah. It is through Haqiqah that all men of distinction from amongst the believers obtain the true and sure knowledge and unquestionable truth.

He says that the essence of Tasawwuf is composed of two gems. The first is the perfection of piety and the second the readiness to forsake anything. The former is its basis, and the latter its beginning.

Stressing the importance of devotion to God he says again that if anybody knew the extent of God's generosity and mercy, he would have refrained from all the worldly affairs and devoted all the time and attention exclusively for worshipping God with all sincerity.

The book was later published by Sayyid Fasal in Istambul, during his exile[14]. Emphasis on learning and Dhikr explains the nature of Sufism in Kerala.

Hidayath al-Islam Tarjuma

The work was composed by M.A.V.Moosa Moulavi. It was printed in 1378 A.H/1959 A.D. From the very title it appears that it is a translation (Tarjuma) of another work, *Hidayat al-Islam*. Unfortunately no details of the original work is known, as to its composer or date of compilation. But the author profusely quotes the original Arabic poem and the characteristic continuation of Malayalam verse for those lines.

It is a treatise inducing believers to follow the true path. The book is propagandist treaties of the Naqashabandi Tariqah though it is not mentioned anywhere. Only in one place the author says"it is said by Ahmad Pulavar"[15]. Ahamad Pulavar was a Shaykh of Naqshabandi Tariqah, when the number of followers were very small and when they were boycotted and excommunicated[16]. If the identity of publisher is made known people won't buy or read the book. Even as late as December 79 when they published a book the title was 'From the Holy Quran' though it was printed and published by 'The followers of Naqshabandi Tariqat' of Kanthapuram[17].

The book is highly philosophical. For every statement he draws either a verse from Quran or a Hadith. On the Quranic statement (وبغضك زعلة جنى بأيبلة النطيبى) he says there are four kinds of (نيفيبى)

or perfection. They are, (عِلْمُ الْيَقِين) perfect knowledge (عَيْنُ الْيَقِين) perfect vision (حَقُّ الْيَقِين.) perfect truth (كَمَالُ الْيَقِين) perfect completion. He draws the comparison of Islam by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali to a coconut. Coconut has four parts. The husk(external), The Shell (interior) the edible part and coconut oil. The sharia is husk, Tariqah is shell Haquiqa the edible part and Maarifa the coconut oil. In 1921 the followers of Naqshabandi Tariqah were excommunicated and they were forbidden entry to the mosques. Though there is no criticism of any other groups of the community there are attempts to justify their deeds. It does not give bio-data of any Shaykh or even the silsila or 'sanad'.

When God created His Khalifa on earth (إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً) and asked the angels to bow to him, it implied that man is His representative. But as 'Iblis' got permission from Him to lead people astray, it is possible to find the truth only through the prophets. The Shaykhs with the hidden knowledge (لَدُنِّيٌّ عِلْمٌ) are the natural followers of prophets. He warns people of 'rotten'scholars (سُوءُ الْعُلَمَاءِ) and exhorts that it is the duty of a seeker of truth to search for the Imam of the time. On the day of judgement only the Imam or 'those who have got authority' will speak. All the people will be called with their Imams[18]. After creating Adam He taught him, the secret knowledge unknown to angels– to none but to Him. To the prophets knowledge - His words- were revealed through angels. In the same way knowledge, is attainable only through the selected few, by the grace of God. It is therefore, incumbent on all creatures to search for such Imam. In the end he says that the Naqahabandi Tariqah is that Tariqah which was taught by the Prophet to Abubakar.

Hidayat al-Rasi 'ala hayat al Qasi'.

It is a long treatise written by Qadi Ibn Ali (d.1346 A.H/1927 A.D) of Calicut. The manuscript is with Qadi N. Muhammad Koya of Calicut.

It is a criticism of the exploiting attitude and misleading practices of one pretended Sufi known as Muhammad Salih who came to Calicut on the 1st Dhul al-Qaadah 1285 A.H (1868 A.D). He began to seduce people and extract money. The author says that his guidance to the people was like the blind guiding the blind. The Qadis of those days raised their voice against such superstitions and exploitations.

Al-Burhan al Munir

Qadi Muhammad Ibn Ali of Calicut completed this work on 9th Jamad al-Ula, 1346 A.H (1927 December).

It is a criticism in verse of the sufistic practice known as Ratib in Kerala, which is considered to be a holy performance[19]. It is done by a group of people led by their leaders. The party encircles a white covered pillow upon which a pamphlet of the Ratib is placed. A little water is kept in a vessel. From this pamphlet they chant verses about their Shaykh which are followed by Awrad and Adhkar including verses from the Quran and traditions of Prophet. Then they start beating drums and swinging left and right and to and fro calling names of Shaykhs like al-shaykh Muhiyi al-Din (d.572 A.H/1172 A.D) al-Shaykh Rifai (d.570 A.H/1183 A.D). In the meantime one of them is seen stabbing on his belly with a dagger and another striking with a sword and a third one cutting his tongue or lips and so on and all the while they keep on calling out the names of the Shaykhs. In the end their leader cures their wounds. The water of the vessel is thereafter considered to be holy and used for treating patients.

The author criticises this practice, because he says that those who conduct it are cuppers or porters or labourers having no knowledge of even the prescribed rules of cleanliness and they are paid for this in cash and dress. Very often they commit mistakes in such recitation because some of the members include children, who cannot even read them correctly.

An unpublished manuscript is available with Qadi, N.Muhammad Koya of Calicut.

Mawlids

Mawlids form the next important source for study on Sufism.Mawlid means birth, commonly applied to birth of the Prophet. Mawlid was celebrated in groups reciting treatises containing verses from the Quran and reports about the birth, importance and greatness of the prophet on his birth day, the 12th Rabi al- Awwal. This was followed by sumptuous feasts.

During the 7th and 8th centuries Mawlids were composed on Prophet

Muhammad alone. But in the last few centuries Mawlids began to be composed on important saints, Sahabis, Shaykhs, heroes and scholars. These works contain the events in one's life, his service to the community and miracles attributed to him.

The change in the subject matter widened their scope as well. Mawlids used to be celebrated on the 3rd 7th and 40th day of the death of a Muslim and at the circumcision ceremony, before any important undertaking and for the fulfillment of vows.

Mawlids starts with praising God and then reference is made to the hero which is followed by sections in verse and prose one after another. In the prose section, miracles, important events in his life are mentioned while in the verse section the hero is praised and the blessings of God are sought through intercession.

The biographic notes provided in the prose section of these Mawlids are important as they are not found anywhere else.

Manqus Mawlud

This is the most popular mawlid usually recited in Kerala. As these works were published from different centres at different times, the date of first publication is unknown. This was composed by Al-shaykh Zayn Al-Din Ibn Ali of Ponnani (d.923 A.H/1521 A.D).

This work characterises Prophet as the most important of god's creations in the Universe. In the next section after praising him much, his intercession is sought. (أَنْتَ مُشْفِينَا غَدًا مِنْ شَفَاعَتِكَ الصَّفَا

مَنْ لَنَا مِثْلُكَ يَا سَيِّدِي خَيْرَ النَّبِي) "You will deliver us tomorrow with your sincere intercession. Who is there to help us like you, Oh, my leader, the best of Prophets". This kind of appeals for intercession is characteristic of all the Mawlids. Mawlids were also composed on important sahabas, Shahids, pious men scholars and saints. For the present study Mawlids of local saints are most important. Mawlid of Sayyid Alavi Ibn Muhammed included the Bio-data and Karama of the Ba-alavi saint who was born in 1166 A.H (1752 A.D) in Tarim. He later migrated to Malabar. Popularly known as *Mamburam Tangal*, he was the beloved Sayyid saint and leader of Malabar Muslims.

Mawlids of Shaykh Muhammad al-Kalikkutti contain information of life and activities of this famous warrior saint who fought against the Portuguese.

Mawlid of Porattel Sahykh Abdul Qadir Sani

His Mawlid composed by Abdul Aziz Musaliar of Ponnani is very important for this study.

The Shaykh was born in Baliapatam. His father was a Sultan of Hamadan who gave up his kingdom and came to Baliapatam. There he married a beautiful girl and later he left. No one knew where he had gone. Leaving out the hagiographic embellishments we understand that Abdul Qadir entered the service of the local chieftain. When he was 16 years old a group of four men went to his house, and asked his mother for food. She said: "I don't have anything except this cow belonging to Abdul Qadir". They killed the cow and cutting a Jack-wood tree cooked it. They ate it with bread they had, and gave a little to her asking to give it to her son. When he came home his mother narrated the incident and he immediately started in search of those divines until he met them at Bhatkal[20]. After a meal together one of the group, Shaykh Ahammad al Khabushani gave him Ijaza and Khirqah. Returning home he relinquished the King's service and the king who was pleased with him gave him the village of Porattel. He settled there and had many sons, one of them being the great Shaykh Kamaluddin of Baliapattam. He died in 983 A.H on the night of Friday the 16th of Dil-Qaadh.

Stories about men who were defeated in the attempt to test his wisdom are included in the work[21]. An interesting story of his meeting with Muhammad al Bakkari is given int he work which shows that he was a contemporary of that great scholar[22]. When the Shaykh was bedridden towards the end of his life he asked his senior Murid Shaykh Abdurahman Ummani, the Makhdum of Ponnani to be his Khalifah until his son Kamaluddin reach mature age and the Murid obeyed him.

The character of Sufis as represented in these Mawlids testifies the popular veneration of these holy men.

Malappattukal

After the Arabic Mawlids come the 'Malappattukal'. Mala literally meaning garland is used for a poem with beautiful lines as flowers in a garland. More than a hundred of such Malas have been classified by the joint authors of *Mappila Sahithyam*[23]. they are the song-stories which commemorate the exploits of Martyr saints or heroic events in the history of the community[24]. The tradition of composing religious treatises goes back to ninth century A.H. But many have perished. The earliest existing Mala is the *Muhiyid-Din Mala* 397 years old as mentioned by the writer at the end, 782 Kollam Era/ 1607 A.D[25]. These Malas were very popular among the Mappila Muslims and was sung in every household after Maghrib praryer[26]. The womenfolk memorised important Malas.

The Malas and Pattukal had their fore-runner or parallel in Kerala history. The Kandiyur Marram Patappattu by Nilakanta of Cheppad written towards the close of the sixteenth century is an important source for Kerala history with reference to 'Manigramam' (The merchant guild) and Onattallu (Onam duel). The 'Mamamkam' 'Kilippattu' by Katamcheri Nambutiri, a courtier of Bharani Tirunal Manavikrama (1684-1705), the great Zamorin is one of the most important source for the later history of Kerala[27]. Incidentally it is in the region where Putturam Pattukal[28] (on the 12th century Tiyya hero, Aromal Chekavar) and 'Tacholi Pattukal' (on the 16th century Nair hero Otenan) flourished, the Malakal and Pattukal of Mappilas also flourished. At least some of them were contemporary works on heroes who lived from sixteenth century onwards, though some of them were later compositions. The main difference was in the themes: while northern Ballads commemorate the physical strength and valour of heroes, the Malas and Pattukal describes the spiritual heights, their nearness to God and martyrdom of Shahids.

The Malas give the birth and death of saint, a short history of his education and some anecdotes connected with his early preparations, the initiation and later his Barakahs. The major part dealing with his exploits with 'Iblis' or with those who despised him. Either at the end or beginning they include the name of the author and a chronogram from which the date of composition may be inferred.

The Malas begins with God's praise and with prayer on Prophet. After the actual work comes the *Iravu* (begging) and ends with a special Dua of the Tariqah.

At the end of the work the author prays to pardon his sins for having composed the Mala. Some of the important Malas are discussed in detail though their number go to hundreds.These were the equivalent of Tadhkiras elsewhere in India especially in the Deccan[29] where the problem was, "how the highly developed traditions of Middle eastern mysticism could have been translated in terms meaningful to illiterate non Muslims". One way of doing this was to introduce the Sufi themes in understandable terms in the folk songs, which were especially popular with women folk. The new converts little conversant with religious principles could sing on the birth, circumcision ceremony and wedding in the case of Male, and the Katukuthu Kalyanam[30], Tirandukuli[31], wedding and delivery in the case of female, their favourite tunes with the replaced Sufi themes. A separate branch of Mailanchipattukal[32] has developed and all these songs are in general called 'Oppanappattukal'[33]. They were the best medium to influence the common folk as Annamarie Schimmel observed; "For many centuries, poetry was practically the only vehicle for influencing the illiterate masses, who have had and still have an incredibly good memory for verse"[34].

Muhiyi al-Din Mala

The poem was composed in 782 of Kollam Era (1607 A.D) by Qazi Muhammad of Calicut, in praise of Muhiyid-din Abdul Qadir Jilani. The author says:

> "In the 782nd year of Kollam era,
> I prepared this Mala in 155 lines,
> Like pearls and rubies strung together
> I tied this garland, Oh people !"

The author begins with praise of God and pass on to the subject, the glorification of the Shaykh.

"On the right he has the sea of Shariah and on the left has the sea of Haqiqa; Up in the sky and down below the earth is the boundary for his flag (authority)".

Then the poet gives the Shaykh's own verses about him:

"Then all the Shaykhs on Earth
Humbly bent down, says he
I am the sea without bounds says he
I am the matter unknown to men, says he
For 'Jinn' 'Ins' and Malak
I am Shaykh above them all, says he
All the Auliyas and Qutubs
Are children of my house, says he"[35]
The one who went near Arsh before all says he
Always my eyes are in the 'Lawh'[36], says he
For all the Walis and Murids under my banner
I am the intercessioner, says he
To those who call me from any land
I shall reply before he close his moth, says he
Allah opened me seventy doors
Of knowledge unknown to any (mortal), says he
Each of the doors in width
was like Earth and sky, says he
Who has attained my Maqam
Tell if there is any, says he.

The preachers in Kerala used to give picturesque description of the dread of hell and blessing of heaven. Such as the above mentioned lines would raise in a common man consciousness of his sins and fear (Taqwa), and he would yearn for forgiveness with a bleeding heart. Then the poet leads the reciter to the next section *Iravu* meaning begging, begging Him for forgiveness by the mercy of the saint. The lines run as follows:

The days when I live in this earth
Place me under the protection of leader
Muhiyiad-Din, Oh Allah
The time when Azrail takes my soul
Place me under the protection of the strong
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when I go to the Qabar frightened

Place me under the protection of renowned
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when all start, hearing the Sur[37]
Place me under the protection of your
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when the sun glows seven feet above
Place me under the protection of your
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when I stand on boiling earth
Place my under the protection of handsome
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when the seven hells rage
Place me under the protection of noble
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when weighed[38] and accounts are verified
Place me under the protection of leader
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
The day when the ten feet long Sirat is to be crossed
Place me under the protection of your slave
Muhiyi ad-Din, Oh Allah
With him by his intercession
Enter me in heaven, Oh the Lord of Universe.
To see (witness) Khoja Muhammad's wedding
Help me to observe the wedding celebrations
Me, my father and mother
and Ustads who taught me knowledge (Ilm)
Me and all other Believers
Place us all in the intercession of your Prophet
To the slave (self) who has committed much sins
Pardon the sins and place me in your Rahmat
Oh the Lord who forgives all sins
Forgive all and be merciful to me, Oh Allah
All the 'good Salat' and 'Salam' (of mine)
Give to your Muhammad, Oh Allah.

Muhiyid-Din Mala being the forerunner of all other Malas the same

pattern is followed in other Malas too. To this category belong the innumerable Malas. 'The Kappalppattu' (Ship song) of Kunhayin Masaliyar (c.1700A.D) is a philosophical song. The poet compares the world to the sea, human body to the ship and soul the captain....He describes Iblis as pirate with whom one has to encounter to reach the shore of *firdouse*. Then he describes the bliss of heaven the *Huries* and gardens, The author compared different organs of the body with different parts of the boat which reveals that the author was fully conversant with the human anatomy. The ship is supposed to be undertaking a commercial voyage in the sea, the harbour to anchor is *firdouse*, the balance sheet is that of good and evil. This simile also reflects some aspects of Muslims social life of the day.

A large number of *Qissappattukal* song-stories on the earlier Prophets exists like Isa Nabi Qissappattu, Ibrahim Nabi Qissappattu and Yusuf Nabi Qissappattu. The 'war song-stories' include Badr Patappattu, Uhdpadappattu and songs on all the later Mappila outbreaks characterising them as jihad, and those killed in them as shahids.

For this study Malas on local saints are the more important, the number of which goes on increasing as new ones are being composed on important scholars or leaders on their death. The teruvatteppalli mala is one such work. The date of its publication is not found. But the author Vayappalli Mammutti gives the date of composition in two lines.

"Composed the Mala in hundred and
three hundred and thirty Oh ! Brothers"

According to the Mala the Shaykh was born in Mahamud Bandar and came to settle down in 'Ballanchathanur' of the present Palghat District. He was initiated to Shadili, Chishti and Qadiri tariqahs. His Karamahs are related to agriculture, Palghat being the main paddy-producing area in northern Kerala. Reciting his praise would bring good crops or destroy pests. The mala also throws light to the social and economic conditions as there are references to riders complaining of his horses illness and a man offering Nercha for wild elephant falling in the trap, which was soon accomplished.

Typical of the popularity of these works with women folk the author says; "if his name is recited at labour pains women will deliver soon"[39]. The date of his death is given in the typical ABJD numerals, (d.998.A.H)[40].

The Mala shows that four hundred years before, the Chisthi, Qadiri and Shaduli Tariqas had been especially popular in the eastern Malabar.

The Arabic poems written in the 19th and 20th centuries are also very important, as they were composed on well-known Shaykhs, leaders or scholars.

These oral traditions handed down, but written later and published only in 19th and 20th centuries are the expressions of popular ideas of Sufism.

Field study, observations of Urs rites and Sufi practices like Moulud, Ratib, Aravana, and personal interviews with the custodians of many Jarams and with living Shaikhs of various Tariqahs formed the material of this study, on Sufism in Kerala.

Notes

1. For details of the origin of the name from 'Muwalladun' chap. I.
2. Quazi Muhammad refers to the disputes while he was composing the Muhiyiddin Mala (1607 A.D)
3. Abu Said's (d. 440 A.H./1049 A.D) idea of true saint. Nicholson H.A., **Studies in Islamic Mysticism**, p. 55.
4. **Kitab al-Adhkiya**, line 40, p.3.
5. This is the board that controls religious education of Sunni Muslims of Kerala. The Wahhabis or 'Mujahids' as they are called have Kerala Nadvat Ul-Mujahidin instead.
6. Here after referred to as Zayn ul-Din.
7. Prof. K.V. Abdurahiman "Ponnani - A brief historical Survey", Article in **M.E.S. Ponnani College Souvenir**, p. 15.
8. "A certain zayn al-Din bin Ali al-Maabari (d-1522) was a scholar who wrote Arabic works on nearly every branch of Islamic learning including the traditions (hadis), Jurisprudence (fiqh), and mystical poetry". Annemarie Schimmell's **Islamic Literature of India** as quoted in R.M. Eaton, **Sufis of Bijapur**, p. 125.
9. K.K.M.A. Kareem, Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Thangal, p. 17.
10. I am grateful to Dr. Stephen F. Dale of Ohio University for allowing me to go through the photocopy of the Egyptian printed copy of the work at Calicut.
11. The joint authors of Mahathaya Mappila Sahithya Parambaryam (The Glorious Mappila Literary Heritage) say that the work was copied in 1220 A.H./1805 A.D.)

12. He was Prophet's uncle.
13. Kanan was the son of Prophet Nuh.
14. C.N. Ahamed Moulavi and K.K.M.A. Kareem (Ed.) **Mappila Sahithyam**, p. 173.
15. Moosa Moulavi, **Hidayat al-Islam Tarjuma**, p. 20.
16. The present Shaikh Sayyiduna Shaikh Ahammad Kutty Tangal told me of the resolution of 1921 of Samastha Kerala Jamiyyat al Ulama, the Sunni organisation for education, excommunicating followers of the Tariqah, in an interview with him.
17. 'From the Holy Quran' by B.C. Abdurahiman, Kanthapuram, Kizhisseri (1979).
18. He draws from Quranic Verses like

يَوْمَ يَدْعُو كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَامِهِمْ

لَا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ إِلَّا مَنْ أَذِنَ لَهُ الرَّحْمَٰنُ

"The day when al the people will be called with their Imams"

19. For details of Ratib, Ittaman, Amini Islanders, pp. 90, 144 ff.
20. The coastal settlement of Nawayat Muslims in present Karnataka state from where Bhatkal Muslims take their name.
21. Refers to the incident of four scholars testing him. Ibid., p. 14.
22. The story is that Abdul Qadir Sani asked one of his Murids on way to Hajj to convey his salam to Muhammad al-Bakari. The Murid in Mecca introduced himself in the name of his Shaykh and conveyed his salam. Muhammad did not return salam and asked the assembled "Have you heard of a Shaykh with such a name"? They said 'No'.Then immediately the great scholar Saint sat looking forward as if listening to somebody and said 'Waalaikum assalam' three times. Then he turned to the Murid and said "certainly your Shaykh is 'Pillar of the age', Qutb uz-zaman'. He came to me and paid salam and I returned as you heard".
23. The list of contents in **Mappila Sahithyam.....**(Mal.)
24. R.E. Miller, Mappila Muslims of Kerala, pp. 241-42.
25. **Mappila Sahithyam**, pp. 45, 46.
26. It is customary in Muslim household to sit in 'Musalla' (prayer carpet) of the Maghrib prayer until the time of Isha prayer. After a brief recitation from Quran the women folk sing the various Malas as a sacred ritual.
27. For the importance of many such Pattukal (songs) which form one important source of Kerala Social history, A Sreedhara Menon, **Survey of Kerala History**, p. 22.
28. They are collectively known as Northern Ballads.
29. Written version of oral traditions that had been passed down for many generations among people associated with Taifas or Saint cult.
30. The occasion of wearing the first 'Alikkattu' or any ornament in the pierced hole on the earlobe was celebrated with pomp and show.
31. The celebration held when the girl attains puberty.
32. Girl assembled in the house of a prospective bride and anoint her with Henna.Thus the Mailanchippattukal (Henna songs) developed.
33. Songs sung by girls rhythemically clapping hands and dancing.
34. Annemarie Schimmel as quoted in R.M. Eaton, **Sufis of Bijapur**, p. 141.

35. **Muhiyid-Din Mala**, p. 2.
36. **Ibid.**, p. 3, reference to **Lawh al Mahfud**.
37. The trumpets of the Judgement Day.
38. Reference to the judgement of good and evil.
39. Vayappalli Mamutti, **Teruvatte Palli Mala**, p. 7.
40. (900 + 90 + 4 + 4= 998) corresponding to 1590 A.D.

Main Currents of Political and Social History of Kerala

The traditional story of the conversion of the last Cera ruler to Islam is a perplexing question to students of history. Th local tradition regarding this incident is contained in the *Keralolpatti* (Origin of Kerala). It states that Ceraman Perumal, the last Perumal ruler of Kerala, who was a convert to Islam, partitioned his empire and went to Mecca. He died on his way back from Mecca after visiting prophet Muhammad and was buried on the Arabian coast. According to another tradition, it was in commemoration of the partitioning of the kingdom that the 'Kollam Era' was started in 824-85 A.D.[1] The earliest recorded version of this tradition is found in the account of Durate Barbosa and Barros.Barbosa (c. 1515 A.D.) concludes his narrative thus: "He (Ceraman Perumal) went in their (the Moors) company to the house of Mecca and there he died, or as it seems probable on the way thither; for the Malabaris never more heard any tidings of him. Before he started the king divided his kingdom among his kinsfolk into several portions as it yet is, for before that time all Malabar was one kingdom".[2] Barros gives a similar account. "Sarama Pereimal, which king was so powerful that in memory of his name they used to make a reckoning of the period of his reign.....making it the starting point of an Era.....In his time the Arabs now converted to the sect of Muhammad began to trade with India.....When they were settled in the country this king Sarama Pereimal became a Moore and showed them great favour....Thus they persuaded him that for his salvation he ought to end his life at the house of Mecha. He agreed...and determined to make a partition of his state among his nearest kindred". Shaykh Zayn ud-din[3] also gives a similar account. He says that a party of Muslim faqirs, with a Shaykh started on a pilgrimage to Adam's foot in Ceylon and landed in Kodungallur. From this party the ruling king heard of Prophet Muhammed, the tenets

of the religion of Islam and the miracle of splitting the moon. "Allah, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, had caused to enter in his mind the truth of the mission of Prophet, and the king believed in him". The king then asked the party to return by his capital and on their arrival he made arrangements for ruling his kingdom in his absence by appointing governors for provinces and he left for Mecca in their company. On his way back he fell ill and died. He had entrusted letters addressed to his relatives in Malabar introducing the party who had accompanied him, asking the rulers to grant them facilities for the propagation of the faith and erection of mosques. The party led by Malik Ibn-Dinar came to Kodungallur and they erected ten mosques in different parts of Malabar.[4]

The serious chronological discrepancies in the different versions of the tradition make it difficult for us to accept it as it is. At the same time, such a persistant tradition as current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be easily discarded because "Christians claim him as one of their early converts, the Muhammadans as their very first convert on Indian soil. At the same time the Hindus look upon him as one of their saints"[5] The mere fact that this tradition was not known to Ibn Battuta who had visited Malabar several times, is not a good and sufficient reason to reject it. In fact he had heard of the conversion of a former ruler[6] in Dahfattan. Often Sulayman's statement "I know not there is anyone of either nation (Chinese and Indian) that has embraced Islam or speak Arabic" is quoted against this tradition to show that Islam did not enter India till 851 A.D. As Nainar has stated Sulaiman's date cannot be taken as 851 A.D. as it is the sum total of Arab knowledge of India prior to 851 and it cannot be ascertained precisely on which period Sulaiman makes this statement.[7] Therefore it will not be useful to establish any theory on the strength of Sulaiman's statement.

The different versions give three different periods for the introduction of Islam in to Kerala and for Perumal's conversion.

1. During the life-time of Prophet in Madeena (between 622-633 A.D).
2. During the Eighth century.
3. During the Ninth century.

This tradition that Islam spread in Kerala during the life-time of Prophet

is probably true. As has been pointed out, Arab sailors and merchants who were trading with Kerala at that time must have been the first converts to Islam. Therefore, it stands to reason to believe that Islam spread in Kerala along with its introduction in Arabia, especially in the trade settlements. But to believe that a Perumal of Kerala believed in Islam and went to Arabia, met the Prophet and was converted at his hands is a different matter. As minute details of the Prophet's life and activities have been meticulously recorded, one can be fairly certain that if a well-known king of Malabar (Kerala) had visited the Prophet it would not have escaped mention in the vast Hadith literature.

The second tradition is that the introduction of Islam into Kerala and the conversion of the Perumal took place in the eighth century A.D. There is circumstantial evidence supporting this possibility. The earliest reference we get in the form of inscriptions to prove the presence of Muslims in Malabar is a tombstone in an ancient grave yard at Pantalayani Kollam dated 166 Hijrah (782 A.D). It reads: "Ali Ibn-Udthorman was obliged to leave this world for ever to the one which is ever-lasting, and which receives the spirits of all in the year 166 Hijrah (782 A.D) so called after Muhammad the Prophet left for Madina".[8] Though the dating of this inscription was questioned by Dr. Burgess who thought that it could not be earlier than the fourteenth century, as Logan concluded it is possible that the tombstone was erected at a later date to commemorate the traditional burial place of the Arabian pioneer.The existence of a group of similar tomb stones at Pantalayani Kollam testifies to the existence of a settled colony of Muslims in that place.[9]

The conquest of Sind by Muhammad ibn Qasim soon after 710 A.D. gave the Arabs the valuable ports of Daybul and Mansurah which brought them a stage nearer to the far east. Before the end of Umayyad Caliphate (749), some Shia Muslims fleeing from the persecution in Khurasan had settled on an Island in one of the large rivers of China, opposite a port. Al-Marwasi had recorded that the community was still in existence about 1120 A.D. and acted as middlemen in the trade between Chinese and foreigners.[10] In 758 A.D.the Caliph's subjects were powerful enough to sack and burn the city of Canton.[11]

The cause of Hajjaj's attack of Sind as recorded by Baladhuri itself proves the existence of a Muslim settlement in Ceylon prior to 710 A.D. The immigration of Nawayats either "at the end of the seventh century or in the beginning of the eighth century A.D",[12] to the Canara coast further strengthens the possibility of the existence of Muslim colonies on the Malabar coast at an earlier date. The learned scholar C.N. Ahmad Moulavi has recorded that he had seen a tombstone dated 50 A.H., in a grave yard at Irikkur near the ancient Muslim settlement of Valappattanam in Cannanore district, but that after twenty-one years when Dr. R.E. Miller and himself tried to take a photograph, the tombstone could not be traced because the whole grave yard was affected by floods.[13]

The presence of a powerful Muslim group, whose importance was recognised by the government of the country is proved by the 'Tharisappalli' Copper-plates (849 A.D) granted with the approval of Emperor Sthanu Ravi in his fifth regnal year to the Syrian Christian merchant chieftain Mar Sapir Iso. The fact that the copper plates are attested by some Muslims, probably merchants, goes to prove their influence in the political set-up of the country, which further establishes their long contact and flourishing condition from an earlier date.[14]

Shaykh Zayn al-din writing towards the close of sixteenth century (1583) on the first appearance of Islam in Kerala supports the view of the introduction of Islam in Kerala in the ninth century. He says "As for the exact date there is no certain information with us; most probably it might have been two hundred years after Hijrah" (822 A.D) of the Prophet".[15]

The question then arises, whether the advent of Islam in Kerala was related to the conversion and emigration of the Perumal. Ibn Battuta has recorded the tradition of one of the ancestors of the king of Kottayam called 'Kuwayl' who was converted to Islam.[16] Though the statement is obscure in nature it is possible that perhaps the ancestor referred to here may have been Perumal, ruler of Kerala. Hence it cannot be argued that the Perumal legend was totally unknown to the Moroccan traveller. As Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan points out "There is no reason to reject the tradition that the last Cera King embraced Islam and went to Mecca since it finds a place not only in Muslim chronicles, but also in Hindu Brahminical chronicles,

like *Keralolpatti*, which need not be expected to concoct such a story which in no way serves to enhance the prestige or further the interests of the Brahmin or Hindu population".[17] But the tradition that he partitioned his empire in 824-25 A.D. (which is also the starting year of Kollam Era) cannot be accepted because a united kingdom flourished in Kerala from 800-1122 A.D. It has also to be noted that the provincial chieftains (Naduvazhis) had been very powerful in the kingdom even when the centralised monarchy existed. We find the proof of their importance in their attestation of the grants by ruling kings to the merchants.[18] If we associate the tradition of the division of Kerala into several principalities with the conversion and emigration of the last Perumal, it might have happened only by the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Three circumstantial evidences support this argument:

1. The tradition relating to the last Perumal's body-guards being designated as **Onnu Kure Ayiram** (Thousand soldiers less one).

2. The inscription in the Matayi mosque dated 518 A.H. (1124 A.D.)

3. The Malayalam Proverb "Thottu Thoppiyittu" (Defeated and converted).

The last Perumal Ceraman Rama Kulasekhara is believed to have disappeared under strange circumstances in 1121 A.D. which prevented the nomination of another leader. Hence his bodyguard came to be known as *Onnu Kure Ayiram* (One thousand less one). The above mentioned Matayi mosque is one of the ten mosques believed to have been erected by Malik ibn Dinar and his party. This would mean that the mosque was erected two years after the departure of Ceraman Perumal to Mecca. The two year gap between his departure (1121 A.D.) and the erection of the mosque (1124 A.D.) is sufficient period for the party who had accompanied him on his return journey to come to Malabar and establish the mosques. In the tradition as recorded by Zayn al-din, Matayi mosque is the third mosque established by the missionary group in Malabar, the Kodungallur and Kulam (Southern Quilon) mosques being the first and second respectively. But another shortcoming in this argument is to be noted again, that Zayn-Ud-din says that it was many years after Perumal's death that the Malik Dinar Missionary group sailed for Malabar.[19]

Historians have so far neglected one important factor in this tradition, namely the missionary group under Malik bin Dinar. To sum up this tradition from various sources the group landed in Kodungallur with Perumal's letter. The ruling chieftains accorded them a warm welcome and eventually this group founded ten mosques in different parts of Malabar.[20] After entrusing these mosques to reliable disciples, Malik Ibn Dinar left Quilon for Shahr Muqalla. From there he proceeded to Khurasan and died on his way[21] or in Khurasan itself.

To look at this tradition from a different angle brings more chronological confusion. We know only one Malik ibn Dinar in history. He was Malik Ibn Dinar as-Sami who was the son of a Persian slave from Sejistan, and who became a disciple of Hassan of Basrah. He is mentioned as a reliable traditionist transmitting from such early authorities as Anas Ibn Malik and Ibn Sirin. He was a noted calligrapher of the Quran. He died in 748 A.D. (c.130 A.H.)[22] One thing is then proved beyond doubt that Perumal did not meet the Prophet as Zayn ud-din observed. The second argument that Perumal went to Mecca in 8th century becomes probable though we have established it to be in 1121 A.D. earlier in this chapter. The nature of the tradition suggests that the story is a later fabrication around the known personalities of history. Stories of kings who converted to Islam was current in the East in other countries as well.It becomes also clear as the names indicate that men of this missionary group were Persians, as they came from Basra. As S.D. Goitein observed "The very expansion of Islam was largely the work of non-Arab peoples"[23]. Persian influence on Mappila Muslims is evident from the use of the words like Bank,[24] Mulla[25], Shirni[26], Sabeena[27], Nishan Kallu [28] and others.

The fact that the missionary group was able to establish ten mosques along the Malabar coast in two and half years leves us in no doubt that there had already been settled communities of Muslims in these places. The letter of Perumal to the local rulers helped them to obtain a warm reception and also facilities to erect mosques. But this had been the case even prior to the conversion of Perumal.The Arab Geographers repeatedly speak of kings who had been very kind to the Muslims[29]. In the eighth and ninth centuries as Buddhism and Jainism were on the retreat and as Brahmins had not exerted its domination, there was sufficient laxity in the

social life of Malabar for the introduction and assimilation of the new creed. The welcome given by the rulers to the traders is proved by the munificient grants to the merchant princes[30]. Describing the rapid growth of Islam in Kerala Zayn ud-din says: "Allah, glory be to Him and exalted be He, made the faith of Islam spread in most of the inhabited regions of the earth. Allah has been gracious to the people of Malibar in Hind in making them accept the faith of Islam spontaneously and willingly, and not out of fear or compulsion.....Thus Islam took root and its adherents increased in number"[31]. The Muslims steadily increased in number by immigration and proselytisation. Traders from different parts of the world began to flock to the coastal towns and new inland as well coastal centres developed. The rulers received them well because they found in these Caliph's subjects a substitute for the Syrian Christians and Jews whose international influence was waning. Zayn ud-din says on this treatment "The rulers have respect and regard for the Muslims, because the increase in the number of cities was due to them. Hence the rulers enable the Muslims in the observation of their Friday prayers and celebration of Id. They fix allowances for Qazis and muadhins and entrust them with the duty of carrying out the laws of Shariat. No one is permitted to neglect the prayer on Fridays. In greater part of Malibar, whoever neglects it is punished or made to pay a fine. The rulers take from the Muslims only a tenth part of the income of their trade....they do not levy tax on those who possess lands or fruit gardens although they are of vast extent. As a result of such kindly treatment the Muslim merchants of olden days used to come in large numbers"[32].

Ibn- Battuta who spent two years (1345-47 A.D) in Malabar found several prosperous Muslim settlement in different parts of the northern and central Kerala, patronised by their rulers on account of their 'need for the merchants'. He found that "Muslims were most highly honoured amongst them (the Hindus) except that they do not eat with them or allow them into their houses".

The most important factor in the growth of Muslim influence in Kerala was the support given by the Zamorins of Calicut. Three factors of mutual interest had combined to form this attitude:

1. The great prosperity that the traders brought and the "increase in number of cities in his country".

2. The financial support and manual assistance these traders gave him in fulfilling his political ambitions.

3. The trade interest of Calicut, for the Muslims made the Zamorin a vital link in the chain of Moorish powers from Cordova in western Europe to Malacca in the Far East.

According to tradition, it was the Calicut Koya who recommended to the Zamorin the conquest of Valluvanad to acquire the custodianship of the Mamamkam festival of Tirunavayi. The financial and military support provided by the Muslims helped the Zamorin to extend his sway over Valluvanad. The Zamorin had even issued an order that one or more male members of every fishermen family should be brought up as Muslims. This helped in the largescale conversion of fishermen community now known as 'poosalans' evidently a corruption of Pudu Islam (New Islam) and enabled an adequate supply of manpower to man his navy and sea trade, because the Hindus were averse to sea and sea-trade, and left such 'vulgar' professions either to the lower castes or to the foreigners[33]. It was his Muslim admirals, the 'Kunjali Marakkars' who captained his navy in his prolonged wars with the Portuguese and Muslim settlement of Ponnani for long served as his Naval base and chief Arsenal[34], while on the land Muslim recruits provided additional loyal forces to suplement his traditionally militant but unstable Nayar fighters for his policy of aggrandizement[35].

The Zamorins amply reciprocated the services of the Muslims. As Zaynuddin had noted he had fixed allowances for Qazis and Muaddins. A thirteenth century inscription in a mosque in Calicut has been recently discovered registering a land gift for the custodian of the Mosque for his maintenance[36]. The history of Ba-alavi Saints shows his patronage to them and to all other saints. "His love for the Muslims and respect for them especially for those who come from far off lands" has been lauded by Shaikh Zayn ud-din[37]. The Muslims were given monopoly of import and export trade. The office of the 'Port commissioner' was given to them with the title, 'Sabantra Koya'[38]. Kunjalis were his naval captains. After the coronation ceremony, the Zamorins used to receive betel leaf from a Muslim dressed as a lady of a certain family. "The Muhammadan Qazi or Judge, Sabantra Koya or farmer of Port dues, Tura Marakkayar or chief

pilot and the 'Palli Musaliyar' or elder in charge of the mosque should be at the Jetty for Akampati (escort)[39] in the coronoation procession", writes the historian of Zamorins. But the greatest honour was the right of Kozhikottu Koya (The Muslim chieftain of Calicut) to stand on the right side of Zamorin in the prestigeous 'Mamamkam' festival[40]. The Muslims not only made Calicut the greatest port of the west coast of India, they even helped to spread the name and fame of the Zamorin to Europe where he was known as a 'Moorish prince'. Calicut thus became the meeting place of nations. Such security and justice reigned in the city that Abd al-Razzaq (1442) noted that "large bundles of goods off loaded from the ships could be left on the streets for any length of time without guard and without threat of theft". These trade prospects attracted Chinese traders also and by the time of Ibn Battuta Calicut, where he found large Chinese Junks, had become the last port on Malabar coast which the Chinese ships visited.

The establishement of Arakkal Swarupam of Cannanore was an event that greatly influenced the growth of the community in north Malabar. By twelfth century the influence of the Ali Rajas of Arakkal (often called Arakkal dynasty) had increased so much that the Kolathiris (The Rajas who held sway in North Kerala) were induced to seek their help by bestowing Laccadive Islands on them. As Tompires remarked "Had the Portuguese not taken over the city (Cannanore) it would have fallen to Muhammed Ali and the Moors"[41].

Further north, in the kingdom of "Elimala" Muslims were again honourably treated. In the 'Musakavamsakavya', an eleventh century Sanskrit work, there are references to the foundation of two cities of Marahi (Matayi) and Valabhapattanam (Valarpattanam), "Where merchants from distant islands were settled for trade"[42]. These two cities and surrounding areas became important Muslim centres. Valapattanam, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, became an important centre of Islamic learning and numerous Tariqas and Shaykhs flourished there as will be discussed in the coming chapters. Atula, the court poet and chronicler of Musaka king, Srikantha (11th century), described the religious harmony of his capital as different dieties co-existing "in peace like wild beasts forgetting their natural animosity in the vicinity of a holy hermitage"[43].

The support of the native rulers encouraged large scale conversion to Islam. People of lower castes who were suffering from the cruel inhibitions of the Hindu caste system came forward in large numbers to embrace the new religion. The out-castes found, in the conversion to Islam, a refuge. When shame and disgrace fell upon some body, he converted[44]. Thurston observes: "In the heat of a family quarrel, in moment of despair, a Hindu thought to revenge himself and upon his family by becoming a convert to Islam. But once in Islam there was no question of going back to his religion and be a renegade to be killed by the Mappilas"[45]. William Logan, the Malabar Collector observed in 1881 : "The honour of Islam once conferred on a Cheruman (scheduled caste of Kerala) or any one of the lower caste he moves at one spring several places higher socially than that which he originally occupied and the figures corroborating what has been actually observed in the district show that nearly fifty thousand Cherumars and other Hindus have availed themselves of the opening[46]. The new converts were given clothes and robes by the Muslims. Zayn Ud-din observed: "The unbelievers never punish such of their countrymen who embraced Islam but treat them with the same respect shown to the rest of Muslims though the convert belongs to the lowest of the grades of their society"[47]. As Montgomery Watt observed "better economic prospect also had profound influence on religious movements" since, as a trading community Mappilas could move freely with their merchandise less taxed. Moreover, in Calicut as well as in other parts of Malabar, as noticed by Ibn Battuta, almost all men related to sea trade were Muslims.

In Quilon in South Kerala where Malik Ibn Dinar had erected one of his ten mosques, the Muslim trading community had acquired such prominence in the political set up of the country that they were cited as witnesses to the Tarisappalli Copper plate grant made by Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal, Governor of Venad (849 A.D)[48]. The cavalry wing of the king was chiefly manned by them.

The community as has been described by Abul Fida (1273-1331), Marco Polo (c.1293), Abdul Razzaq (1442) and best of all by Ibn-Battuta (1304-1369) grew in number by 1583 to form ten percent of the population[49]. But the importance of these people in the political and economic affairs of the country was far more than what their smaller number would suggest.

Ibn Battuta found Muslim merchants and Muslim houses in most of the Districts of northern and central Kerala. At Mangalore, on the northern fringes of Mappila area, he noticed a settlement of 4000 people originated from Fars and Yamen. Travelling south, he noticed Muslim colonies with big Jama'ath mosques at Hili (Matayi), Baliyapattam, and Pantalayini Kollam. His difficulty in obtaining food due to caste pollution was overcome by the large number of Muslim houses on the way: "were it not for them no Muslims could travel". Nevertheless he experienced friendly welcome from the Hindus. "Muslims are most highly honoured amongst them... except that they do not eat with them or allow them to their houses". At Calicut, he was amazed by the splendour and pomp, while at Quilon he was stuck by the greatness of the Jamaath mosque.

A few words on the origin of the name 'Mappila' would be appropriate here. Mappila is the name by which Muslims in Kerala especially in Malabar are known. The term was used for jews and Christians but they were differentiated as 'Jonaka' and 'Nasrani' Mappilas respectively. The origin of the word remains unsettled. One interpretataion of the word is that it is a combination of two Malayalam words Maha (great) and Pillai (child) meaning great ones and noble ones, received and held in high respect. Logan and Innes take this view[50]. Shamshulla Qadiri who has devoted a full chapter of his Monograph 'Malabar' to the discussion is of opinion that the word is connected with Christian migrants from Iraq, Arabia and Syria. Another derivation suggested is 'Ma' (mother) Pillai (child) denoting the children of mothers, so called as they were the children of mothers who were married to foreigners, Arab as well as non-Arab[51]. It is also held that the word means 'son-in-law' or 'bride - groom' as the foreigners married local women. The word is still in use to mean bridegroom.

Even if any of these arguments is accepted some other related questions remain unanswered. It was the Portuguese writer Barbosa (1515) who used the term "Moors Mopulars" for the first time for the Muslims of Kerala. Why was it that none of the Arab travellers, Ibn Battuta (1349), Abdurazzaq (1444), Ma Huan (1451) or Zayn ud-din had used the term? Ferishta can be left out as his information was from 'Tuhfat'. This proves beyond doubt the word originated at a later date.

After going through all these arguments the present writer is of the opinion that the original word was Muwalladun (مُوَلَّدٌ) or (مَوَلَّدٌ) which means Sayyid half breeds, sons of Sayyid fathers and indeginous mothers[52]. The last dal (دٌ) when dropped in pronunciation becomes Mawalla (h). In the Mappila Malayalam especially 'Wa' (وَ) is often replaced by 'Ba' (بَ). Thus the word becomes Maballa (h) with the last dal (د) hidden. The various spellings used in different periods like 'Mopular' and 'Moplah' suggest that one sound after 'la' (لَ) existed but since dropped. If this is accepted it will also answer the question why it was not used by writers before Barbosa (1515). The Sayyids or the Tangals as they are called in Kerala, are those people who had migrated from Hadramawt. It was in the 14th and 15th centuries that Sayyids migrated in large numbers to India[53]. 'Calicut' and 'Malibar' are specially mentioned as the place of emigration. This means that within two hundred years, by the time Barbosa wrote, the Sayyid half breeds had so increased in number that the term Maballa (h) could be used to indicate a Muslim. The fact that Calicut and, further north, Pantalayani Kollam, (Fandarina of Arabs) are Sayyid centres on South Western coast and that the Muslims of north Kerala are generally called Mappilas, while in south Malabar are called family names[54], also strengthens this argument. It is possible that the name was later on applied to all foreigners and traders but nowadays it is being more and more exclusively used for Malabar Muslims. According to the government notifications, the Mappila is a backward Muslim, belonging to the category of OBC (Other Backward Community).

Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin, which the Moorish traders developed into the 'busiest city full of traffic and commerce in the whole of India" as Pyrard de Laval noted, with merchants from all parts of the world and of all nations and where everydody could freely exercise his religion[55], was soon to become a battle ground, the Muslims being the main losers– losers of their prosperity never to return, and thousands of lives to be sacrificed.

The landing of Vasco da Gama on 17th May 1498 at Kappad, six miles north of Calicut was the beginning of Mappila disaster[56]. The Portuguese found the entire spice trade in the hands of native and Arab Muslims. Their blockade of cargoes to Gama's ship convinced him of the need to

break the Moorish monopoly. He initiated the policy of armed trade and his successors continued the policy of commerce, conquest and conversion. It soon became evident that the Portuguese economic and religious motivations were combined with deep animosity against the Muslims, which had come into being as a result of the many years of clashes on the iberian peninsula. The Portuguese considered all the Muslims as their natural enemies. The Arab and Persian Muslims in Calicut who had the bitter experience of crusades opposed Zamorin's friendly gestures to the Portuguese. With the arrival of Cabral in 1500, it became clear that these people were launching a blood bath in the Arabian sea and that the centuries of peace on the Malabar coast was at an end[57]. Gama had concluded a treaty with the Raja of Cannanore, Zamorin's enemy on the north and Cabral concluded a treaty with Raja of Cochin, his rival to the South. Thus wedged in between his enemies on either side and the Portuguese superios naval power on the Sea, The Zamorin and his Mappila allies desperately fought for almost a hundred years. The Portuguese began to sink and burn with the crew all the Moorish ships they came across. Albuquerque in a letter to the Portuguese King had declared his intention to send a troop of four hundred cavalry to Medina and seize its treasures and the body of the Prophet to be held in ransom for the liberation of Jerusalem[58]. At the time of his reception at Goa in 1510, Albuquerque referring to the death of 6000 Muslims stated : "It ws indeed a great deed and well carried out"[59]. Vasco da Gama who had vowed to revenge[60] upon the Moors of Calicut returned in 1502 and started the indiscriminate shelling of the city. He seized 24 rice vessels appraoching Calicut, cut off the hands, ears and noses of the 800 crew, tied their feet and knocked out their teeth with sticks, heaped them on board the vessels and set them on fire. The ears and nose of the Brahmin emissary of Zamorin was cut off, the ears of dogs were wewn in their place and the severed limbs were sent to Zamorin asking him to have a curry made of. The Zamorin and the Muslims were passive sufferers and the Arab traders collecting seventeen vessels prepared to leave from Pantalayini Kollam, but they were captured and burnt the vessels with 2000 men on board, and this action broke the back bone of Muslim trade on Malabar. Zamorin was powerful on land but not on the sea. He waged wars with the Raja of Cochin, the Portuguese ally in 1503-04 but was defeated. His

alliance with the Sultans of Egypt and Gujarat failed. The seizure of Goa in 1510 cut off the last hope of help from the Deccan. Albuquerque sacked Calicut in 1510 and had the Zamorin poisoned. In 1513 his successor permitted the Portuguese to construct a fort at Calicut and in 1529 permission was given for the construction of another fort at nearby Chaliyam (6 miles south of Calicut), using the materials and tombstones taken from the ancient Jamaat[61] mosque. The Portuguese capture of Malaca in 1511, cut off the Chinese trade and in 1515, when Ormuz capitulated to the Portuguese the trade through the Persian gulf came to an end. From the first quarter of 16th century the Kunjalis continued as the Admirals of Zamorins, until 1599 when Kunjali IV was treacherously handed over to the Portuguese by the Zamorin, whose ears had been poisoned by his courtiers jealous of his power and prestige. It were the Kunjalis that ended Portuguese mechanisation in Malabar.[62] The Portuguese branded them 'Pirates' and one of the clauses of the treaty of 1615 with Emperor Jahangir was to persuade the Mughal ruler to agree that "The Marakkars being pirates who earned their livelihood by theft, shall not be allowed to enter the ports of either king and should they do so, the Portuguese shall be permitted to enter any ports or rivers where the Malabars may happen to be and seize them"[63] The successors of Kunjalis were active from Ceylon to Goa until 18th century.

Whereever they went the Portuguese left the marks of inhuman brutality.[64] Quazi Muhammad explains the Portuguese cruelty: "How many Muslims are imprisoned in their gallows? How brutally they are treated? How many children became orphans with their massacre? How many ships they have sunk: How many Muslims they converted to Christianity:" The Quazi continues "the Portuguese burnt the Quran and the mosques and erected churches instead,[65] they beat Muslims with chappals and desecrated mosques with human excretions. They dig out Qabars and build houses with their stones. They violate women in presence of their husbands and relatives and compel them to carry nightsoil. They kill Muslims with saws, sometimes with hooks and fire, often they are trampled to death with horses, or strangled. Sometimes they mutilate and often they slaughter like animals"[66] The Quazi's statement that men out of fear of the Portugues began to travel through mountains, terrified, gives us one

important reason of the development of interior marts and Mappila settlements.[67] The Portuguese policy was not only to destroy the Moors and Mappilas or Malabar but also to cut the Eastern trade from Egyptian base and destroy the prosperity of the Pasha. Albuquerque had appealed to the miners to dig a tunnel from Nile to Red Sea and render the land of the Grand Trunk sterile.[68] In the letters and commentaries of Portuguese kings and captains and in the Papal bulls the struggle between Christendom and Islam and the crusading spirit of the Portuguese stand revealed. As Hunter pointed out the destruction of the Muslim trade and the constant bombarding of the Muslim settlements all along the shores and killing as many Muslims as possible were all part of the Portuguese policy in the east. Thousands of Muslims were killed and it became clear to them that the Portuguese intention was to "extinguish Allah's light by blowing with their mouth".[69] A holy war-Jihad - became inevitable and that was why Zayn ud-din compiled his *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin fi Baazi Ahwal il-Burthuqaliyyin* with a view "to inspiring in the faithful the desire for fighting the worshippers of the cross, for, a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims and also captured from among them a multitude whose number cannot be counted".[70]

The book was dedicated to the 'most illustrious Sultan (Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur 1558-1580). "The most noble of monarchs one who had made the holy war his chief consolation and holds the elevation of the word of Allah by military expeditions as a precious ornament". In the first chapter of "The gift to the holy warriors in respect of some of the deeds of the Portuguese", the "merits of Jihad" are described. The Fathul Mubin of Qazi Muhammad written on the 'complete victory of Zamorin and his Mappila allies in the Chaliam Battle (1571) was also written with a similar view. He was praising the Zamorin, the Hindu King for his efforts to fight the enemies of Allah and the faith. He hoped "when the Sultans of Iraq and 'Sham' hear the exploits of this king they may come to his help".[71] It was a total war for the Muslims, and the Zamorin alike, for the Qazi says: "Zamorin appointed men to recite Quran for the victory in the war. Mashayikhs were requested to pray for the warriors. Offerings were sent to Mecca and Madina and sacred vows were made". The Pandits, the Yogis and Astrologers were employed to pray. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, the Makhdum of

Ponnani fought shoulder to shoulder with the Nayar contingents. Qazi Abdul Aziz (The author's father and then Qazi of Calicut) and great Sufi saint Abulwafa Muhammad led the soldiers. The Shaykh himself was a good archer.[72]

As a result of the Portuguese depredations, Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin and Quilon and the whole Malabar coast, lost their trade and sank never to rise again. Mappilas lost their prosperity. The Native Christians partly supported their co-religionists. Thus the Muslims found themselves fighting against the "Worshippers of Cross" and against Hindu soldiers of Zamorin's rivals. Zamorin himself wavered in allegiance because it was now these new-comers, who were the masters of the sea.

The final result of the Portuguese rivalry for the Mappilas were economic retrogression, estrangement from Hindus, bitterness against Christians and a new militancy as preached by Zayn ud-din and Qazi Muhammad and many others alike.[73] They were being restricted to petty trade. Those who moved to the interior found that they could not be accommodated in the traditional land-holding system of Malabar and became landless labourers to work with out-castes, or became slave labourers or had to become poor fishermen. Here began the community's poverty, ignorance and inwardness.

The Dutch, the English and the French companies throve at the cost of the Muslims later. A few big Muslim business houses rose into prominence as brokers to these companies. When Hyder Ali invaded Malabar in 1766 with the active support of Ali Raja of Cannanore, the Mysorean ruler was able to control north Malabar and occupy Calicut. His son, Tipu Sultan, was more convinced of the injustice done to the Mappilas and of the need to retrieve them. Many of the Nair and Hindu Jenmis fled to Travancore. Mappilas utilised the opportunity to purchase land at low price or to seize land rights. But the Mappilas' lot was not better under the Mysorean rule either. The wanton destruction of the pepper plant by Mysorean armies caused heavy loss to the farmers.[74] The farming of the revenues to Rajas with the status of tributaries worsened the condition further. These Rajas[75] with the armed men of Mysorean Sultans discriminated against the Muslims in the taxation system.[76] There had

been two rebellions against Tipu Sultan in Manjeri, the heart of Mappilanad in 1786 and 1788.[77] When the British occupied Malabar, a large number of Hindu landlords who had fled during the Mysorean invasion either disposing their estates on nominal prices or leaving them behind, returned and laid claim to their former estates. The newly established British courts supported the Jenmies. The British policy in general was "to preserve the rights of the superior class of subjects."[78] Even their genuine complaints were turned down as "Private matters beyond the reach of the government". As the Joint Commission noted "From the beginning of 1791 instead of seeking to conciliate the Mappilas the members of Zamorin's family thought only of attacking and subduing them. The Kottayam Raja not only allowed, but seemed to encourage the Nairs to oppress and maltreat the Mappilas and to injure their temples in revenge for former molestation of a similar nature by the Mappilas".

With the psychological boost and the growth of militancy the Mappilas had now the will to fight the oppression which hitherto they had passively accepted.

During the hundred years from 1821 to 1921, a total of fifty one outbreaks took place.[79] A recent study by Stephen F. Dale has revealed many vital facts of these outbreaks.[80] William Logan, the Malabar collector and special commissioner for the District (1881-82) reported that while 98% of the Jenmis were Namboothiri Brahmins or Nayars. 27 percent of the agriculturists were Mappilas and 34 percent of the eviction decrees had been passed against them. The Mappilas incessantly fought the British with their 'war knives', stones and sticks and neither side won. The murder of collector Conolly in his Bangalow in 1854 in retaliation of his capturing 7561 war knives was the peak of the rebellion. The British retaliated causing much destruction to life and property. A huge fine of 38337 rupees was levied of which 30936 rupees could be realised and given to Conolly's wife.[81] They branded, the rebellions as 'Hal Ilakkam' (Acts of ecstacy) and passed the notorious 'Mappila Outrages Act of 1862 which prevented 'unlawful gathering' and put Malabar under Martial law. Even the workers on the fields were terrorised and fields were left uncultivated. Properties were confiscated, mass fines were levied, arms were captured, all the arrested were banished or tortured to death and the construction of mosques was prevented.

It has been proved that Sayyid Fazal, the Ba-Alavi saint of Mamburam known as Mamburam Tangal among his devotees, had an important role in some of these outbreaks.[82] Mappilas, when they planned an attack either on a British official or an oppressive Jenmi, they would spend much time in prayer, and fast and would go to Mamburam to seek the blessings of Sayyid Fasal. Returning they would put on white robes, divorce their wives, and spend much time in mosques. Then often a 'moulud' was performed and when the act was committed they would wait for the arrival of the British Police or Army to fight and die. The strong influence of the concept of Shahid is evident from the fact that only 28 out of 350 Mappilas who directly participated in the attacks survived while 322 fought to death.[83] When a survivor was interrogated he regretted that he could not become a 'Shahid' and enter paradise, and hence preferred to go to Mecca. Sayyid Fazal's teachings show that he was very much aware of the community's problems namely, the economic exploitation[84] and the consequent inferior social status. Doctrinal purity was an important aspect of his teachings. Mappilas were always in contact with Islamic world outside and in the middle of the 19th century reformist preachers of Arab origin were touring the Mappila land.[85] The anti-British nature of the movement is evident from the fact that when Kondotty Thangal and his followers helped the British officials in Conolly's murder case, they were branded 'Kafirs' and it was proclaimed that those who will kill them will obtain 'fisabil' (Paradise).[86] The Mappila outbreaks had many things in common with the Faraidi movement of Bengal. It was a regional variant of the Islamic revivalist movement, a response to the new economic and political context created by the British occupation of Malabar.

Many Muslim families had migrated to the princely state of Travancore and Cochin in protest against the British oppression. The Mappila awareness of the need for self-reliance and reform resulted in the formation of Maunat-ul-Islam Sabha at Malappuram, in the year 1900.[87] Various voluntary organisations for the social and educational uplift of the community were formed following the example in the first quarter of twentieth century. Moulana Shoukath Ali was accorded a grand reception at Tellicherry on 16th June 1911 when he was touring Malabar on behalf of the committee for a Muslim University. The pioneers of these movements were a few

Thangals, Moulavis, and some wealthy British sympathisers. The 'Khilafath movement' sparked the last Mappila outbreak in 1921. Thousands of Muslims assembled in Calicut on 14th June 1920 to hear Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Shoukath Ali on Khilafath movement. Khilafath volunteers toured the villages wearing fez caps with crescent in their Kaki uniforms with white flags. It was true that when the Mappilas fought with their simple war kinves against the mighty British Army, thousands lost their lives. Even the Muslim officials in the government services were not spared. The Kondotty Thangal, the Muslim divine of Kondotty was attacked as he supported the enemies. A letter which the present writer found written by the then Thangal (1921) to the Captain of the British garrison stationed at Feroke, requesting his protection against Variyamkunnath Kunhahamed Haji, the Khilafat leader and his followers, testifies that the Khilafat movement was not only against the British but against all those who sided with them.[88] This was another expression of Mappila religious sentiments and his love of freedom. The sufferings of the community aroused national leaders and in Kakinada session of the Indian National Congress in 1921 a "Mappila relief committee" was formed under the presidentship of Moulana Shoukath Ali. Relief centres were opened in the 'war torn' Mappilanadu. The administration launched the 'Andaman scheme' which they said was intended to help the Muslims but actually to deport hundreds of their leaders to the Andamans. Mappilas still cherish the memory of thousands who were rounded up, deported or sent to the jails of Cannanore, Madras, Selam, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Bellary, and Alipore and of the great leaders who proudly received bullets shouting 'takbir'[89]. The community contributed more than its share to the freedom struggle.

The lot of the community changed for the worse during the 150 years of British rule. The neglect of vernacular education on the one hand and bitterness against "English" on the other made them 'illiterate' and ignorant. The mass fines and tax burden for the maintenance of government machineries like Malabar Special Police made them poor. Being a far-off district of the Madras state after independence, their demands, were not heard. Only after the formation of the state of Kerala in 1956 did developmental activities, with the slowest pace, creep into the area.

The foundation of Farook College at Feroke in 1948 was the most

important event in the history of the community after independence. One of the biggest colleges in Kerala, often called the Aligarh of South India, the service of this institution to the community has been great. The formation of the Muslim Educational Society in 1964 was yet another giant stride in the path of progress which eventually became instrumental in the formation of All-India Muslim Educational Society in 1970. The astounding progress which the society could make under the leadership of P.K. Abdulgafoor manifested the community's awareness of the need for self reliance and reform. Doctors, engineers, Professors and Lawyers, the planters of Wynad, businessmen of Calicut, exporters of Cochin, landlords of Ernad, timber merchants of Nilambur and business tycoons of Kasargode all joined the enthusiastic Muslims who could only contribute just five rupees a month. The Society boosted the creative energy of men of all vocation.

The History of the community will be incomplete without a reference to the Muslim League. True to the Mappila traditions the leadership of the organisation had always been with the sayyids. In the post independence turmoil men like Hassan Kutty Kurikkal and Perool Ahamad Sahib kept the organisation alive and after the formation of the state of Kerala, the League became a decisive factor in politics. The state had the first Muslim chief Minister when C.H. Mohammed Koya was sworn in as the chief Minister following the fall of the ministry under P.K. Vasudevan Nair. Perhaps no other leader had been so popular with Mappilas in recent times as 'C.H.' His pen and tongue had been equally effective in snubbing the critics, and at the same time extolling the honour of the community. The unending struggle of the Muslim League legislators under his able leadership won many favours for this 'Backward class' of the 'Backward Area'. The unity and solidariy or the community was once again manifested in the overwhelming response shown by the Mappilas in and outside the country, to the **Malappuram Relief Fund** instituted by its respected President Sayyid Mohammed Ali Shihab.[90]

Notes

1. *Kerlolpatti* (Gundert's Edition), p.67. Velayudhan Panikkasseri '*Randu Keralolpattikal*', pp.17,25,28.
2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol II, pp.2-4.
3. Shaykh Zayn Ud-din is the author of *Tuhfat ul-Mujahidin* completed in 1583. This

is the first written work on Kerala History, by a Keralite. Hereinafter cited as '*Tuhfat*'.

4. '*Tuhfat*', pp.35-40.
5. K.V. Krishna Ayyar as quoted in P.K.S.Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, p.5
6. Adjascent to a Jamaat mosque in Dharmadam in Northern Kerala, he had seen a very big tank with comfortable bathrooms and staircase leading to the mosque so that people could perform ablution and take their bath. 'Husain the Jurist told me that he who had built the mosque as well as the bain was one of the ancestors of Kuwayl (the ruler) that had been a Muslim and that there was a remarkable story concerning his conversion". Mahdi Husaain, Travels of Ibn Battutta, p.187.
7. S.M.H.Nainar, *Arab Geopgrapher's Knowledge of South India*, p.108.
8. William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, I,pp.195-6.
9. C.N.Ahmad Moulavi and K.K.M.A.Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Prarambaryam* (Mal) (The Glorious Mappila Literary Heritage), pp.170-71. Hereinafter referred as 'Mappila Sahityam'.
10. G.F. Hourani, Arab Sea faring in the Indian Ocean, p.63
11. Dr. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Indo Arab relations*, p-11. It was reported that the widows and children of some Muslim merchants who had died in Ceylon were repatriated by the king of Ceylon to their native country. The ship carrying them was attacked by thepirates of Debal off the coast of Sind. Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf's appeal to the ruler of Sind to chastise the pirates fell on deaf ears. There upon Hajjaj sent his commander Muhammad Ibn Qasim to conquer Sind (712.A.D). Baladhuri, *Futuhul Buldan* in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol I, p.118.
12. Wilks as quoted in Victor S.D'sousa, *The Nawayats of Kanara*, p.51.
13. R.E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, p.42, C.N. and K.K.M.A. Kareem, *Mappila Shithyam*, pp.170-71.
14. The attestation to the copperplates in the Kufic script reads: "And witness to this almun son of Ibrahim and witness Mohammed son of Mani and witness Salih son of Ali and witness 'Uthman son of Al- Marziban and witness Muhammad Baker son of Isa and Ismail son of Yakub".
    Syed Mohideen Shah, *Islam in Kerala*, pp.13-14.
15. *Tuhfat*, p.39
16. Mahdi Husain, *op.cit.*, p.187
17. M.G.S. Narayanan "Political and Social condition in Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire (An unpublished thesis submitted for Ph.D in Kerala University, 1972), pp.185-90
18. Bhaskara Ravi's Copperplate grants (1000 A.D) is attested by important Provincial Chieftains. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis*, p.30.
19. "Then the King died.....many years after this sharaf Ibn Malik, Malik Ibn Dinar, Malik Ibn Habib and his wife Qamariyya and others with their children and dependants set sail for Malabar in a ship and arrived off Kodungallur", *Tuhfat*, p.38.
20. The ten places are 1. Kodungallur 2. Kulam 3. Hayli Maravi (matayi) 4. Fakhanur 5.Majarur 6. Kanjarkut 7. Jurfattan 8. Darm fattan 9. Fandarina 10. Shailyat, *Tuhfat*, pp.38-39.
21. Ibid. p.39, Zayn al-din says that he died in Khurasan while Umar Suhrawardi the author of Rihlat al-Muluk holds the view that he died at Kasargode. See T. Ubaid, Hazarat Malik Ibn Dinar (Mal), p.17 also P.A. Syed Mohammad, *Kerala Muslim Charithram* (mal), pp.57-63.

22. Farid ud-din Attar, Tadhkirat al Awliya (Tr) A.J.Arberry, *Muslim Salants and Mystics,* p.26
23. S.D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institution,* p.20
24. Adhan, Call for prayer
25. The man who teaches Quran
26. Sweet dishes
27. Pious songs sung in nights
28. The stones placed at the head and foot of a Qabar
29. Refer to Arab geographer's statement on Balhara, 'The King of Kings' whose people believed that the longevity of their king was due to their favour shown to Muslims. S.M.H.Nainar, *Arab Geopgrapher's knowledge of South India,* pp.153-167.
30. Copper Plate grants to Joseph Rabban, and Mar Sapir Iso (The Christian Merchant). for a detailed discussion on the significance of these grants, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala,* pp.23-27.
31. *Tuhfat,*p.12
32. *Tuhfat,*pp 51-2.
33. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala,* p.33
34. Prof.K.V. Abdurahman, 'Ponnani-a brief historical account' (*MES Ponnani College Souvenir*),p.17
35. Dr.R.E. Miller, *op.cit.,* p-17
36. The bilingual Inscription in the Muccunti mosque in Calicut registers one Nali (a measure) of rice for the maintanance of the mosque and land was set apart in Kunnamangalam and Pallikkal Villages (areas some 10-15 miles from Calicut to north and east) M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit.,* pp.38-42.
37. *Tuhfat,* p.41
38. The Original word was 'Shah bandar Khwaja'.
39. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut,* pp.94-6
40. *Ibid.,* p.104. The great festival held at Tirunavayi once in twelve years.
41. Tom Pires as quoted in Ibrahim Kunju "Islam in Kerala", *Journal of Kerala Studies,* IV, p.600.
42. M.G.S. Narayanan, *"Political and Social Conditions..."* p.258
43. Musakavamsa Kavya as quoted in M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis,* Introduction, p.11
44. A Proverb in Malayalam runs 'Thottu Thoppiyittu' which means defeated and converted.
45. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India,* IV, p.481.
46. W.Logan, *Malabar* I, p.197
47. *Tuhfat,* p.52
48. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis,*pp.31-37
49. Barbosa (1500-1516) noticed only the coastal settlement of Muslims and was mistaken by the presence of large number of Muslims in the trading centres which he estimated as forming one fifth of the population of Malabar.
50. W.Logan, *Malabar,* Vol.I.p.191; Innes, *Gazatteer of the Malabar District,* p.185.
51. Shamshullar Qadiri, *Malabar* (Tr) V.Abdul Qayyum, p.45, R.E. Miller, *op.cit.,* p.31.
52. R.B. Serjeant used the term for Sayyid half breeds in common, *The Sayyids of Hadramawt,* pp.25-26.
53. *Ibid.,* p.46
54. The Southern Kerala Muslims are not called Mappilas. With their proper names

they are called with their family names like, Rawther, Methar, Labbai and Pillai while in northern Kerala no such family names are suffixed.

55. Pyrard de Laval as quoted in M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis*, Introductiion,p.12.
56. "The discovery of the Cape of Good hope...was an evil day for the Mappilas...In the keen struggle for supremacy on the EasternSeas Mappilas came out vanquished....and never have they regained their wealth and their glory", Hamid Ali, *The Moplahs*, p.269.
57. With the Muslim blockade of pepper Cabral was able to fill only two of his ships in two months. When the Zamorin did not respond to his complaints, Cabral attacked and seized a Muslim vessel in the harbour. In retaliation the Muslims attacked the Portuguese factory, killing its leader, Aires Corriea and fifty-three other men.
58. F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I,pp.21-39.
59. *Ibid.*p.271
60. "If at any time he should return to Calicut he would revenge himself upon the Moors who had done him harm", *Ibid.*, I.p.59. When his revenge was carried out he said: "Calicut has offended us greatly and desires that we should do it every injury" Gasper Correa as quoted in R.E.Millder, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, p.66
61. When Zamorin's forces destroyed the fort in 1571 in the battle of Chaliyam, he returned the materials for the construction of another mosque. W. Logan *op.cit.*, I, p.33. It was on this battle that Qazi Muhammad (d.c.1583) composed his famous Qasida *Fathhul Mubin* (Complete Victory).
62. It was said that in Portugal Mothers used to frighten their children with Kunjali's name.
63. F.C.Danvers, *op.cit.*, II, p.174
64. "The tongues get weary of describing them, and hate to put them into words", *Tuhfat*, p.61.
65. In 1504 Tristan da Cunha went in procession with his men to a mosque in Calicut declared it to be their Principal church and named it "Our Lady of Victory" Danvers, *op.cit.*, Vol I, p.156. In 1531 the Chaliyam fort was erected with the materials taken from the ancient Jamaath mosque and with the tombstoned from the grave yard.
66. Qazi Muhammad, *Fathhul Muhin* in Abdurahman Fadfari (Ed) *Jawahir al Ashar*.pp.248-9.
67. وَمنَعُو لِلمُسْلِمِيْنَ الطُّرُقَا بَرًّا وَ بَحْرًا لَمْ يَزَالُوا فِرَقَا
فَطَارَ يَمْشِي النَّاسُ فَوْقَ الجَبَلِ لَيْنْ يَمُرُّونَ بِهَا بِالوَجَلِ

"They prevented the passage for Muslims on land and sea alike and men began to travel by mountains, terrified. *Ibid.*p.248.

68. W.W.Hunter, *A History of British India*, I, p.115
69. *Tuhfat*, p.61
70. *Ibid.*,p.13.
71. *Fathul Mubin*, pp.241-2 لَعَلَّهُمْ إِذَا سَمِعُوا يَفْكِرُونَ
فِي الحَرْبِ أَوْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَعْتَبِرُونَ
72. C.N. Ahammad Moulavi and K.K.M.A.Kareem , *Mappila Sahithyam*, pp.161-2.
73. W.W. Hunter has noted that similar literatures were produced in the Muslim communities of south east Asia who were also victims of Portuguese revenge.

74. Buchanan records that prior to Hyder Ali's invasion in 1765, pepper output was 15000 candies but by 1800 it declined to 800 candies. "Not one in fifty pepper vines was left standing by Tipu in South Malabar". C.A. Innes, *op.cit.*, p.73.
75. All the Rajas had been Hindus. Hyder Ali who was more concerned with money than his religion reinstated the Hindu Raja of Kolathunad, instead of Aliraja, his former Ally, when he failed to pay tribute. W.Logan, *op.cit.*,p424.
76. C.A. Innes is of opinion that the 100% of rental value of garden was assessed as tax. Malabar, p.327. Buchanan estmated that if the rice had to be sold immediately, 84% would be required for the land leaving little or nothing for the cultivators and owners. Francis Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Vol II,p.369.
77. Mappilas rebelled under the Kurikkals in 1785 and 86 against Arshad Beg Khan and he had to seek Zamorin's help to control the rebellion. The Kurikkal family members led the revolts of 1802 and 1849 against the Britishers.
78. General Aber Cromby's instruction to the newly appointed Supervisor of Malabar. Logan, *op.cit.*, I, p.486.
79. They had been termed as Mappila outrages, Mappila out breaks, Mappila rebellion and Mappila riots. A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, pp.346-47.
80. Stephen F. Dale, The Mappila outbreaks: Ideology and Social Conflict in Ninteenth Century Kerala, *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXV, (1975) pp.85-97
81. P.A. Syed Mohammed, Kerala Muslim Charithram, pp.202-5
82. It seems that even in the beginning of 20th century a Tangal had to bless a Mappila to die as Martyr.Thurston quotes the President of Maunath ul-Islam Sabna (founded in 1900) as saying in 1908", It is he (Jarathingal Thangal) that sanctifies Musaliyar and where there is no Musaliyar to bless them there is no Mappila to die as martyr". E. Thurston, *op.cit.*,IV, p.481.
83. Parents and brethren would feel proud of Shahids. If anyone survived bullets or buyonets they would remark "Why did this would be Shahid not die" or "He is gone; he is nothing to us". In 1894 when only two out of the thirty two of the rebels survived, "The mother of one of the survivors was heard to say indignantly "If I were a man I would not come back wounded". Fawcett, War songs of the Mappilas of Malabar", *The Indian Antiquary,* XXX (1901),p.500.
84. Fawcett observed regarding the Mappilas in agrarain system of Malabar; "The customary land tenures are, as it were, arranged specially for the purpose of making people discontented, Ibid, p.502. Sayyid Fazal is said to have remarked "It is not a crime but a merit to kill a Jenmi who evicts".
85. Sayyid Mahmood Sella who was interviewed in Calicut in 1840 by Collector Conolly stated that he had left his home in Baghdad 16 years ago and travelling in Arabia came to India, and employed himself in religious instruction. Sayyid Abdul Hydrose arrested in Calicut in 1855 admitted that he left his home in Hijaz four years ago and earned his living by travelling about in the country and preaching. Stephen F. Dale, 'Mappila outbreaks, *Journal of Asaian Studies,* XXXV (1) (1975), p.91. Both admitted their connections with Sayyid Fasal.
86. *Ibid.*p.93
87. On 9th September 1900, eight hundred Mappila leaders assembled at Malappuram to form the organisation which started functioning in Ponnani, the traditional centre of spiritual leadership of the community. P.A.Syed Mohammed, *op.ot.*,pp 211-12.
88. The letter in Malayalam was displayed in the history section of the exhibition organised in connection with the Farooq College Silver Jubilee Celebrations (1973). The letter is now with Abdurahman Thangal of the family.
89. P.A. Syed Mohammed, *op.cit.*,pp.209 off K.K.Mohammed Abdul Kareem, Khilafat Lahala....*op.cit.*, pp 131 off
90. The collection of fund was launched to help the victinms of the Police firing of 29th July 1980, outside the Malappuram District Collectorate.

Sufism in Kerala : Origin, Early Growth and Relation with Sufi Movement in South India

The initial phase of the contact of Islam in Kerala was effected through a group of Sufi missionaries and Sufi influence on the subsequent history of the community was profound and widespread. The Mappila community could never shed off the dominant features of the impact of Sufism on its social and cultural life despite attempts in modern times to do away with the relics of mystic theosophy. Only a keen student of Mappila history can trace the Sufi elements in the community. That was why even after his fourteen years of stay in Malappuram, the Mappila centre, Dr.R.E Miller had to deny the existence of Sufism and had to quote I.H. Qureshi's words on the non-existence of Sufi activity in South India [1]. Even after cataloguing the innumerable Arabic works produced in Kerala a scholar could only say: "Here (Kerala) Islam was propagated through Malik-Ibn Dinar and his family who did not hold Sufistic ideology"[2]. As has been discussed in the previous chapter he also ignored the fact of Malik Ibn-Dinar being a great Sufi and disciple of one of the greatest Sufis of Islam, Hasan al-Basri. Unfortunately the available Arabic works mainly on theology give us information only on Sufi philosophy and little on the history of the growth of Sufism. The earliest reference we get for Sufi orders is the 'Rehla' followed by the most popular 'Muhiyi al-Din Mala' composed in 1607 A.D. The geneological tree and family history of some of the saints also provide us some materials.

If Spencer Trimmingham's analysis of the growth of Sufism is closely followed, it could be seen that Sufism spread in Malabar in its *Taifa* stage. In the peculiar Mappila context his definition for Sufism seems to be more fitting, namely "Those tendencies in Islam which aim at direct communion between god and man. A sphere of spiritual experience which runs parallel

to the mainstream of Islamic consciousness deriving from prophetic revelation and comprehended with the Sheria and theology.[3] As it was the practice for the common folk to get introduced to many Tariqahs, exhibiting very little of their influence in daily life, R.M.Eaton's definition for 'Sufi' could be accepted in this study also. The word 'denotes any person integrated into the organizational structure of Islamic mystical tradition. This involved a person's taking a vow of spiritual allegiance (Baiat) from another so that an institutionalized spiritual chain linked any Sufi with some earlier master who in turn very probably claimed a spiritual lineage extending from the Prophet himself"[4]. This connotation of the term 'Sufi' is considerably broader than that of classical approach to Sufi studies since it includes not only the true mystics of Islam, by many non-literate individuals who may have little training or understanding of Islamic mysticism. The concept of 'Wali in Islam had legitimized the claims of 'Auliyas' among Mappilas, with neither Tariqah nor Silsila nor any Sufi training.

According to Spencer Trimmingham Sufism had passed three stages in its development, the first being Khanqah stage. This was the golden age of mysticism where a master and his circle of pupils, frequently itinerant, having minimum regulations for living a common life, which led in tenth century to the formation of undifferentiated, unspecialized lodges and convents. Guidance under the master had become the accepted principle. This was intellectually and emotionally an aristocratic movement. Individualistic and communal methods of contemplation and exercises for the inducement of ecstasy was accepted. The second was Tariqah stage. The period between 1100-1400 A.D was the formative period of this stage. Here doctrines were transmitted, rules and methods were adopted, continued teaching developed schools of mysticism and the Tariqas developed from illuminates. The mystical spirit was accommodated to the standards of tradition and legalism and new types of collectivistic methods for inducing ecstasy developed. Third was the Taifa stage. The formative period was fourteenth century, period of the founding of the Ottomon Empire, the time of transmission of an allegiance alongside doctrine and rule. Sufism became a popular movement, new foundations were formed in Tariqa lines which branched into numerous corporations of orders, fully incorporated with the saint cult[5]. In the third stage to be a Sufi meant

belonging to a cult association called Taifa, than submitting to a method of discipline. The mystical element characterized in the Khangah and Tariqa stages now played a minor role. Sufi's direct communion with God was replaced by veneration of Pir who occupied the position of intermediary between the disciple and God. Pirs just became saints (Wali-literally friend of God) and Sufi orders which in the second stage had been schools of spiritual discipline now became Saint- cults; centred on the spiritual power, or Barakah of a single individual. Moreover the headship of most Taifas became mainly hereditary as blood replaced merit as the chief criterion of succession. This in turn gave rise to the practice that descent from a saint could claim special spiritual status, for it was now believed that the spiritual power possessed by a Saint passed to his own familial descendants, in India called *Pirzadas* (born of a Pir). Barakah of a saint was transmitted not only to his descendants but also to his shrine. These shrines, the Darghas, replaced Khanqahs as the physical structure upon which Sufi movements were based. Now Sufism became more a devotional than a mystical movement. Although there was an inner circle of Murids who studied with the Pir or Pirzadas, a much larger circle of devotees was now brought into informal association with the order as devotees in the Saint-cult. Whereas in its earlier cases of evolution Sufism had been confined to a small spiritual elite, it had now broadened to become a popular movement in which the unlettered masses could freely participate. Devotion to some saint, exercised through the veneration of his descendants and his tomb, exerted a powerful appeal among common folk, whose goal was not the mystic's goal of spiritual affinity with God, but the simpler one of achieving relief from worldly anxieties or attaining possession of worldly desires. It was mainly through the intercession of the saint that God's help could be secured, in attaining these goals. This was perhaps the reason that this phase witnessed the introduction of astrology, magic, belief in talismans and charms and other superstitions as a means of prescribing the flow of barakah from the saint who occupied the central position in the cult to the devotee[6]. As Trimmingham observed if Sufis in the Khanqah phase surrendered to God and in the Tariqah phase to a method of discipline, in the Taifa stage they surrendered to a person, the Barakah possessing saint of whose cult they were members[7].

Sufism in Kerala betrays all the characteristics of the Taifa stage. Though there are Ibn-Battuta's references of the Qazeruni Sufis, well known Sufi works were produced in Kerala in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries[8]. It seems that Sufism was introduced into Kerala when it had reached its third stage – Taifa stage-according to the available evidences. Side by side with the Taifa stage the Saint-cult developed another institution unknown in other parts of India namely the cult of Martyr – Saints[9]. The benefits and bliss of martyrdom as propagated by the theologians were higher than those of any mystic's or saint's and they were the people to whom paradise was promised as the theologians preached. Their Barakahs were attributed to their tombs and they became objects of popular devotion. The *Shuhadakkal* were invoked in times of distress. In the place of blood relations and the Darghas for the saints, the custodians of the tombs and the tomb itself became the manifestation of their Barakah. Their importance increased in a process what Trimmingham called 'the dualism of Islam'[10].

The Sufi organizations like Khanqahs, Jamaat Khanahs and Zawiyahs still exist in Malabar but have been transformed into 'Palli Dars', 'Madrasas' and 'Srambias' imparting the same functions as the former ones. The best equivalent of a Khanqah at present is the Ponnani Palli, where students undergo a rigorous system of religious training and pursue their theological studies. The whole establishment has a common kitchen and the large number of students are lodged in the mosque itself[11]. Legalism (adherence to Shariah) had been one of the important features of Mappila Sufism and great stress was laid on acquiring knowledge. In Ponnani a prefect and fagging system is followed. The new entrants are trained by the senior inmates, they in turn being instructed by their elders. The senior-most and the 'privileged' are called to 'sit by the lamp'[12] and be instructed by the Shaykh known as Makhdum. On the satisfactory completion of the training, the Makhdum confers the title of 'Musliyar' to the students which entitles them to teach theology and become Qadis, Khatibs and Imams. The Makhdums of Ponnani had been the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Mappilas until the spread of Wahhabism in twentieth century. Sacred vows had to be made to the Shaykh before the title of Musaliar was conferred which would be solemnly kept till his death. This practice

resembles a *Baiath*. There was also the customs of sanctifying the Mappilas by the Musliyars to become *Shahids* and attain martyrdom for entering paradise. This resembles the Anatolian custom of Sufis sanctifying "Ghazis' for Jihad. Religious instruction all over Malabar is imparted on the same pattern. A scholar of note attracts pupils and if the concerned 'Mahallu' (area under a particular mosque) could provide food for the inmates a 'Dars' would spring up. Where there is no common kitchen the trainees are distributed in houses which feed them, but sleep under the common roof-the mosque-with the prayer, Dhikr and Dua. These Dars are the mini Khanqahs with 'Mudarris' in place of the Shaykh, usually an aged Musaliyar, while the mosque represented the Khanqah or Jamaath Khanah[13]. The Madrasas also impart religious education under a Musaliyar or moulavi, to the children where they attend classes up to 9 A.M. to enable them attend schools till the age of twelve or thirteen. The functions of the old Khanqahs thus still exist in essence.

It seems that the 'Srambia' has taken the place of 'Zawiyaha[14]. Srambia in rural Malabar is a very small construction raised either on the side of the stream[15] or a tank or in places far from Jamaath Masjid and 'Niskarappalli'[16]. These humble structures perhaps represent the Zawiyahs where mystics lived and prayed. Often in a 'Srambia' will be seen a Mappila farmer in prayer with hands imploringly raised to the sky, his eyes half closed and lips moving in recitation of a Dhikr, very often a Srambia is raised by a single man or a family for their own use. Sometimes, a Mulla may be seen teaching the Quran to the children after Maghrib prayer in these places. Thus the Juma Masjid in modern Malabar except in the Wahhabi areas are true representation of Khanqah; and Jamaath Khana and Srambia[17] are those structures which represent the Zawiyah. Only a student of Islamic mysticism with a close acquaintance of Islamic social organization can understand the complexities of Mappila communal organizations and that was why writers hitherto have denied the existence of Sufism among Mappilas.

Perhaps they were misguided by the complete absence of asceticism in Kerala which was one of the main features of Sufism elsewhere. The stress was laid on legalism and Shariah as put forward in Hidayat al – Adhkiya Ila Tariqat al-Awliya by al- Shaykh Zayn ud-din ibn 'Ali al- Mabari of Ponnani (1467-1521 A.D) which is the manual of Sufism in Kerla, all the

later works on the subject being expansions or reiterations of the ideas of Zayn ud-din Makhdum.

The earliest work which could be considered the manual of popular Sufism was 'Muhiyuddin Mala' composed in 1607 A.D. The 'Malas' are the equivalent of Tadhkiras, elsewhere in India. The Muhiyuddin Mala as all other Malas was written in Arabic metres, a long rhymed poem which is still sung in reverence by all especially by the womenfolk. The Mala extols the saintly qualities of the 'Awliyas' and their Barakahs which is followed bye a 'Tawassul' an appeal for intercession to these saints. Their recitation roused a sincere longing among the illiterate mass, to be true Muslims and to attain paradise.

As all the works extant refers only to the Sufi philosophy and little to the history of Sufism, it cannot be ascertained when Sufism was actually introduced to Malabar. The field study undertaken for this work revealed the existence of the following eleven orders in Kerala, though a continuous history cannot be composed. Only the life and works of saints but mainly the 'Karamat' which the devotees recited are available.

The unbounded reverence for Sufis caused many of the historic personalities to be shrouded in hagiographic embellishments. It seems that whatever original historical materials had been there in the Malas were later dropped, a more popular and fanciful Karamat being attributed in its place, by a new composer. The Sufi orders traced in Kerala are:

1. Qadiri
2. Rifai
3. Chishti
4. Suhrawardi
5. Naqshabandi
6. Kaszeruni
7. Shadili
8. Ba – Alavi
9. Ba-Faqih
10. Aydarus
11. Nurishah [18]

Abul Fazal's list includes only three of these eleven orders. The Chisti,

Suhrawardi and Kazeruni[19]. The orders are discussed in detail in the chapter on Sufi orders. Ibn-Battuta's reference shows that many of Sufi orders were closely linked with merchant guilds and many important Sufis had the position of patron-saints of the respective guilds. He referes to the Kazeruni hospices where he stayed in north Malabar and staying in another hospice at Kawlam (Southern Quilon) hoping for the news of his *Kakam* ship bound for China[20]. The importance of these Sufi hospices in the social life of Islamic countries can be seen in the traveller's narratives such as those of Ibn-Battuta and Ibn-Jubair. In Asia Ibn-Battuta found hospitality everywhere with a group of fuqara who generally associated with a tomb as at the convent ascribed to Abu-Ishaq al-Qazeruni (d.1034A.D) at Qazerun, west of Shiraz. Under the aegis of his name and Barakah, voyages to India and China were considered safe. Offerings were made often in the forms of a contract to the Kazeruni Khaqahs, as a safeguard against perils and the custom had become so much institutionalized that Spencer Trimmingham calls it "a powerful insurance corporation. 'Baraka-selling agents were found at sea-ports such as Calicut, the famous port of Malabar and Zaitun, in China"[21]. Ibn-Battuta who frequently came across their activities describes the whole 'insurance'system[22].

In the Islands of Mahal Ibn-Battuta refer to his entertaining Derveshes with the help of the Wazir. In Mahal, Islam is believed to have spread from Malabar and it establishes the presence of Dervishes in Malabar too. On the occasion he had prepared a fire and the Dervishes went into it treading it with their feet and some of them ate it as one eats sweet meat, until it was extinguished[23]. The fire-eating and eating live snakes and the like were noted miracles of Rifai Sufis which means the presence of Rifais in Mahal and establishes the possibility of Rifais presence in Malabar too by the middle of fourteenth century. Throughout Malabar Rifai Mala is chanted even now to give relief from burning and to 'guard from Snakes'.

A certain Ahmad Jalal ud- din of Bukhara came to Baliapattam (Badfattan of Ibn – Battuta) in the year 900 A.H/1494 A.D. His descendants were renowned for their scholarship and were widely recognised as leaders of the community. Sayyid Muhammad Moula who was born in 1144 A.H/ 1724 A.D in Kavarathi of the Laccadives was the fifth in descent from Jalal-al-din Bukhari. Their sphere of activity was spread all over Kerala from

Mangalore to Travancore.[24] These Bukhara Sayyids as the people called them were probably Suhrawardis of Hamadani branch. There is a flourishing tradtion of Suhrawardis after 900 A.H. in Baliapattam and its cultural extension in the interiors[25].

With the arrival of the Makhdum in the second half of the fifteenth century, Ponnani became the religious and cultural centre of Mappilas. Traditions ascribe the establishment of Ponnani in 12th century by an Arab divine[26]. The first Makhdum, Shaikh Zayn ud-din ibn- Ali (1467-1521 A.D) was the author of the well known mystic poem, *Hidayat al-Adhkiyah ila Tariqat al-Awliya*, the manual of Sufism of Malabar. Ponnani is still the college for Musaliyars and training centre for new converts. The Makhdums themselves were trained under great scholars like Muhammad al-Bakkari and Ibn-Hajar al-Haytami. On the completion of training under solemn oaths resembling a 'Baiath' the Shaykh conferred the garment -coat and cap on the Musaliar, with 'Ijaza' for teaching and preaching. A "sharah" (commentary) on 'Adhkiya ...' was written by the author's son Abd al Aziz al-Mabari under the title, *Maslak al -Adhkiya* in which the biography of the first 'Makhdum is given. According to the information provided in Maslak al-Adhkiya the first Makhdum was initiated into the Chishti Tariqah under Shaykh al-Jalil Khawja Qutbuddin and Khwja Izzuddin Chishti. This would mean all those religious trainees would also belong to Chishti Tariqah.

All the Tariqahs claim their Qadiri adherence also. The Muhiyuddin Mala composed in 1607 A.D by Qazi Muhammad shows that the order had become considerably popular by 17th century. Born in Jilan in 470 A.H/ 1077A.D., Abdul Quadir had not founded any Tariqah or initiated anybody[27] but was renowned as a Hambali preacher. Nothing indicates that the order spread widely before the fifteenth century[28]. But Abd al-Qadir had become the most universally popular saint by fifteenth century when Sufism had reached its Taifa Stage of development. Qadiri Tariqah was introduced into India with the arrival of Muhammed Gawth (d-1517 A.D). who claimed descent from Abd al-Qadir, but it had not much followers that Abdul Fazl writing about 1600 A.D. did not include the Tariqah among orders represented in India[29]. But in Malabar the Qadiri Tariqah seems to have gained wide popularity even before its introduction to northern India, and because of the popularity the Suhrawardi Saint of Porathel[30], liked himself

to be called 'Abdul Qadir Sani' (d.983 a.H/1574 A.D) Qadiris might have spread from Deccan[31] to Malabar or from Coastal settlements like Bhatkal on the Konkan coast[32].

The first of the great Ba-Alavi saints arrived in Calicut in 1159A.H/1748 A.D and was honourably received by the Zamorin who assigned him a house and amenities. The tombs and abode of his descendants at Mamburam became the most sacred shrine of Mappilas. The Tangals of different periods were great scholars and composed many important works on Shariah and Sufism and issued many 'Fatwas'. In the 19th century they were the exponents of Islamic revivalism which expressed itself in the form of Mappila outbreaks. Sayyid Fasal, the spirit behind the outbreaks, was banished and he served his last years as a noble courtier of Sultan Abdul Hamid at Constantinople[33]. People of all communiteis make offerings to the shrine or visit the 'Jaram'[34] on the fulfilment of a vow or to redress grievances. "By the foot of Mamburam Tangal" is a sacred seal for a contract among Mappilas as Thurston recorded[35]. This reverence for the Ba-alavi saints still continues.

The Kondotty Tangals were held in high esteem by the Mappilas, second only to Mamburam Tangals. The founder of the Kondotty shrine and Tangal line, Muhammad Shah of Persian origin reached Kondotty from Kardan (Near Bombay) in 1718 A.D. Some of the practices like his Murids prostrating in front of him aroused suspicion among theologians and Mamburam Tangal, and the disputes between Kondotty and Ponnani led even to armed clashes[36]. This dispute gave rise to vast Arabi-Malayalam literature and formed an important chapter of Mappila history. This dispute compelled Muhammad Shah to declare "Islam is my religion, Muhammad is my Prophet and Quran is my guide. My teacher is Karam Ali Shah who was leader of the scholars. I have joined the Tariqah of Shaikh Muinud-din Ajmeri and Shaikh Muhiyuddin". Knodotty has a semi-domed Dargha constructed in granite in Bijapur style and a separate house, official residence of the senior Tangal where the Murids are instructed. It is in all sense a Khanqah of the order. An annual *'Nercca'* - *Urs* - at Kondotty is held in great pomp and show.

Nurishah Tariqah is the latest entry of Tariqahs to Kerala with its Head

Quarters in Hyderabad. The founder of the Tariqah is Shaykhuna Sayyiduna al-Haj Nurul Mashaikh Nurishah as the followers call him. He calims to be descedant of Abdul Qadir Jilani. His disciples go to the local 'Khanqah' itself for prayer, dhikr and dua and also make annual visit to the centre of the Tariqah in Hyderabad to be personally instructed by the Shaykh. This Tariqah has not made much headway among Mappilas but has caused heated discussions among theologians. The disciples in Kerala publish a monthly in Malayalam, 'Al-Irfan'.

The followers of 'Kurur Shaikh' the Naqshabandis of Kerala, have their head quarters at Maruveetil Thazham (Wynad District) and in Kizhisseri, Kondotty and Chelembra of Malappuram District, they have a little following. They were excommunicated by Sunnis in 1921. As one of their recent publications shows they stress on the Batini or inner meaning of the Quran[37]. It seem that Naqshabandis once had a greater following because one of the Malas which the present writer could collect was entitled, "New Saifuddin Mala" - Urs song printed in 1327 A.H (1909 A.D) which means there must have been an old one sufficiently old to warrant a revision[38].

There seems to have been disputes and occasional conflicts among the followers of Tariqahs. In February 1979 two persons were killed in a conflict between Naqshabandis and Sunnis[39], and a case was registered in March 1980 on the incident[40]. As the joint authors of 'Arabi-Malayala Sahithyam' noted 'Valapattanam had been a centre where a number of Tariqahs had once spread. Many of the mosques are still known in the name of Tariqahs or Shaykhs. There had been the party of "La maujuda Illallah' and their opposit "Raddu la maujud Illallah" who carreid on prolonged ideological struggle. When Muhiyiddin Mala was written (1607) the disputes were very much prevalent, for the author after praising Muhiyiddin Shaykh narrates[41].

The number and strength of Amirs are proof
To know the greatness of Sultans
That way think the greatness of the Shaykh
Then you will know Sayeth Muhiyiddin.
And a Shaikh whose greatness is so much

Leaving him where do you go (rely) oh, people
All the cocks will crow and stop
But Muhiyuddin's cock will crow upto 'Qiyamam'
Oh, The people who yearn for 'Akhiram'
Be his Murids without delay[42].

Prolonged disputes on religious ideologies had been one aspect of Mappila soceity. It was a dispute on Tariqahs earlier and in 18th century the Kondotty-Ponnani disputes followed. In the 19th, and early years of 20th century, the Qibla dispute was followed by the Sunni-Wahhabi disputes. Now-a-days it is Jamaath-i-Islami– Wahhabi group disputes or Wahhabi-Sunni disputes or Sunni–Tariqah disputes. Generally the pracitce was disputation between scholars of respective groups during 'Waad' attracting large numbers of people who consider the attendance itself an 'Ibadat'. These disputes gave rise to vast Arabi-Malayalam literature[43]. On several occasions these disputes had ended in sealing off the mosques by authorities, and Friday congregational prayers being held under police protection, to prevent group conflicts. But often these disputes ended in the construction of a new masjid by a rival group.

Sufi philosophy of 'Wahdat al-wujud' had influenced the orders of north Malabar and their opposite group 'Radd la maujuda Illallah' was also active. The concepts of Aluliya, faqir, and various maqams of Sufis like Gawthal-Azam[44], Qtb al-Zaman[45] wre well known in Kerala. Their adherence called them Shaykh al-Mashaikh, Sultan al-Auliya, Sultan al-Arifin, Nurul Mashaikh and the like. Each of these Tariqahs had special dhikr as the hagiographics show, and particular tune and order in reciting them. The Viruttangal[46] of Ichcha Mastan who people believed to be a faqir abounds in words like Ha, Hy, HaHa, HuHu, HuAllah which requires breath control. Hagiographic literature has other examples, of Ha Allah, Hee Allah, Hu Allah similr to what Trimmingham calls 'Rasping saw dhikr'[47], obviusly an influence of yoga practices of breathe control, proves that in Malabar also Sufism could not escape such external influences. Masthan formerly a well known person lived like a mendicant whom many considered eccentric. His poems written on wooden board or walls with chalk or charcoal were copied by his fans. This study could not trace practice of Sama and Chilla. But there were practices of Sufis retiring to solitude for their prayers[48]. There is the custom

of recitation of Mwlids of Saints in congregation and Rateeb, chanting of dhikr and music followed by torture of the body[49]. Dhikr and Aravana took men to a state of trance which they called Hal or Jadhb, a degeneration of the concept of Fana as in otehr parts of Islamic world[50].

The degree of veneration in which the Awliyas were held varied according to their Karamat. People believed that miracles were perforemed with the help of Jinns who were propitiated by certain rites. Stories are prevelent of some Auliyas or sorcerer retiring to thick jungles for Jinnu Seva- propitiating Jinn-for forty days. the Jinn it is said would conduct horrible and deadly tests and will then be please to act as the man's servant. It is perhaps the popular notion of the mystic pracitce of Arabainiyya-the forty day retreat when 'a visualisation of God even was possible'[51] when a form reveals and vanishes for testing the individual. Many of the Sufis or faqirs had extraordinary powers with medicine and not a village could be found without a story of a Muslim faqir having cured a man almost dead from snake bite or from some other incurable disease in olden days. A folk play, the 'Malamkali' of north Malabar shows the doctor as a Muslim with a lungi and full-sleeved shirt with a beard and a fez cap holding a bag of medicine. It is certainly the strong tradition of a Muslim Physician immortalised as a character in the play[52]. People believed that a particular saint could be propitiated for particular favours or to guard from a particular disease or from evil spirits[53].

Murids were initiated with special rites[54]. But a Sufi was initiated to many Tariqahs. An inscription on the tomb in front of the Masjid Zeenath Baksh of Mangalore reads[55].

> "Shaikh ul-Mashaikh Muhammed Moula Jalalu Masthan ul-Bukhari Qadiri Rifai Jaishi Sabiri al-Hamadani"

Such titles make identifiifcation of Saints impossible. The Sufi orders of Arab or Mesopotamian origin like Rifais Ba-Alavis and Ba- faqihs and the Qadiri order (of Jilan) naturally spread from their place of origin by sea. The traders were the first Sufis too[56], for a Sufi "It was not necessary to withdraw from the society of men in order to live the dedicated life"[57] and Sufis could carry on their normal occupation as in the case of Ali al-Khawwas[58]. Men of various professions attached themselves to the Taifas

because of the spiritual, social and economic benefits derived from that relationship. By virtue of one's attachment to a Taifa he could move freely in the company of his brothers in Taifa and could claim hospitality of any Khanqah with his identity in any part of the world[59]. It is this fact that tempted Trimmingham to call them "Pious night-clubs"[60] in functional aspcet in Muslim trade centres all over the world.

Aftrer the traders, the Sufis themselves migrated to Malabar as has been noted. At least, the Makhdums were emigrants from south eastern coast as their surname 'Mabari' indicates. Some of the makhdums were closely associated with Sultans of Bijapur[61], and Makhdum's 'mystic poem' was well known in their court. Sufi concept and ideas of Bijapur court life might have thus influenced Makhdums. It is true that the ancient Nawayat settlement of 'Bhatkal' had cultural relations with Malabar. That was why Abdul Qadir Sani, the Suhrawardi Saint had to meet his Shaykh at Bhatkal. The cultural life of the Muslims of the city Honavar, where Ibn Battuta saw 13 schools for girls and 23 for boys, something which he had never seen anywhere else and the fact of all Muslim women being 'hafizat' is itself a proof that they should not have been out of the pale of the Sufi influences, as was the life style of the age.

The only one invading Muslim Army ever to enter Malabar was that of Mysorean Sultans. But their policy of ruling through local Rajas giving them the status of tribute payers made any cultural impact impossible. Moreover the land had not been peaceful to enable any cultural penetration, and even in the heart land of Mappila Nadu Muslims fought with Mysorean garrisons[62]. The Kondotty Tangal, Muhammad Shah, had very good relations with Tipu Sultan, who had given him 'Inamdari rights' of many of the Amsoms in 1789[63]. Even in his envisaged capital, Farooqabad[64] not a dargah nor the tradition of any saint is traced. Hydros Kutty Mupan, the martyr saint of Manattala was one of his lieutenants. Tipu Sultan himself was one of the Murids of Sayyid Shaykh Jifri, a Ba-Alavi Sufi of Mamburam. Perhaps that is why Mappilas regard him as a Shahid, by virtue of his initiation by Mamburam Tangal. His wonderful feats in life have given him the halo of an Auliya having 'Karamah'. But none of these facts establish any vital influence of Sufism in Malabar from other parts of the country.

Notes

1. R.E.Miller, *Mappila Muslim of Kerala*, p.53. Quotes I.H.Qureshi; "The extensive Sufi missionary activity found elsewhere in Indian Islam is not evident in South India".
2. K.M.Muhammed. *"Kerala's contribution to Arabic learning and Literature".* (An unpublished thesis submitted for Ph.D in Aligarh Muslim University (1976),p.76.
3. J. Spencer Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*, p.1
4. Richard Maxwel Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, Introduction, p.27.
5. J. Spencer Trimmingham, *op.cit.*, pp.67-84.
6. Richard Maxwel Eaton, *op cit.*, Introduction , pp.30-31.
7. J.Spencer Trimmingham, *op.cit.*, p.102
8. Qazi Muhammad's *Muhiyuddin Mala* was composed in the year 782 of Kollam Era (1607 A.D); *"Adhkiya...."* of Shaykh Zayn Ud-din Ibn Ali was composed in 1521 A.D.
9. The call for martyrdom in the 'Jihad' against the "Worshippers of cross" as propounded in the *Tuhfat* and later propagated by the Ulama gave birth to innumerable Shahids. For details see Chapter V.
10. "Most women found their religious focus in the local wali, the saint (his power) localised in his tomb and visitations on Fridays, and festival days were the highlights of their religious life. The dualism between male and female religion was brought out on Friday when men went off to the 'Juma to display their communal solidarity by participation in congregational prayer, whilst the women were at the saint's tomb or grave yard making their offerings petitioning or communing with the spirit of the tomb". (J.Spencer Trimmingham, *op.cit.*,p.232) The belief that visits to Darghas would enhance a woman's fertility is an obvious reason for their continuing polularity among rural women of Deccan today". (R.M.Eaton, p.270). In Kerala generally female folk believed that the Barakah of the saints would enhance their fertility. Almost all the Malas would bring comfort at labour pains" as the composers or Murids of saints often claimed, or if a certain Mala was repeated after particular Dua and Dhikr a fixed number of times a sterile women would conceive". "If the women reads it at labour pains the child will be born soon sayeth he". *Muhammad Wali Mala* of Mamutty, composed in 1330 AH/1912 A.D. on saint Muhammad Mawla of Palghat (d.998 AH/1590 A.D) (Arabi Malayalam),p.6
11. There had been 300 students in Ponnani in 1906. A.S Vaidyanath Iyer. (Malabar Quarterly Review, 1906) as quoted in E.Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*. Vol IV, p.496
12. The senior-most students sit with the grand-master around his lamp. This marks the last stage of training.
13. The difference between the Khanqah and Jamaat Khanah as explained by Prof. K.A .Nizami does not apply in this context. *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteeth Century*,p.175
14. The Zawiyahs were smaller places where the mystics lived and prayed but unlike the inmates of Khanqahs and Jamaath Khans, did not aim at establishing any vital contact with the world outside. Ibid.,p.175.
15. There are instances when sufis though not ascetics retires to isolated places where they indulged in prayer. Moulavi Abdussabah, one of the reformer Sufis was traced near a stream in the forests of Wynad by a group of motorists in the mountainous road, where he seems to have been gathering the mental strength for his great ambition which now stands as the Farook College complex.

16. They are smaller mosques meant for prayer, but where Friday congregational prayer is not held.
17. In functional aspect the Srambia is quite identical to Zawiya. According to the Persian-English Dictionary of F.Steingass, the Zawiya is a cell, a hermitage, a convent, a corner, etc.
18. Nurishah Tariqah is of a recent origin with its head quarters in Hyderabad and with not much following in Kerala, but maintains their own Khanqahs for community prayer, Dhikr and other group functions.
19. Blochmann (Trans.) Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 203.
20. Ibn Battuta (Tr. H.A.R. Gibb), Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-54, Vol.I, p. 238.
22. For details on the working of the insurance system see chapter on Sufi orders.
23. Ibn-Battuta (H.A.R. Gibb), op. cit., p. 247.
24. Chettuvayi Abdul Qadir, *Sayyid Muhammad Moula* (Mal.), pp. 1125
25. Porattel Shaykh Abdul Qadir Sani according to his Moulud, lived in Qarn al-Asir, (Tenth century A.H.), 1494-1591 A.D. Abdul Qadir's Moulud describes his meeting with Muhammad Bakkari of Mecca 'Shaikh Sahibi Fathul Muin', teacher of the author of Fathul Muin-Zainuddin Makhdum. Muhammad Bhakkari lived between 898 A.H. = 1498 A.D. and 953 A.H. = 1545 A.D. according to Brocklemann (Article in E.I., new edn. 1954).
26. E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 463
27. For details of the development of Qadiri order, *Infra*, Chapter on Sufism.
28. J. Spencer Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 42.
29. Ibid., p. 44.
30. A Village in Cannanore District.
31. R.M. Eaton writes on the role of Qadiri sufis in the Bahmani Kingdom. "The Sufis of Qadiri order, with their urban and religiously orthodex orientation, and especially with their prestigeous claim to spiritual successorship from Abd al-Qadir Jilani of Baghdad were perfectly suited to help in giving the Bahmani Court an air of religious legitimacy and piety". op. cit., pp. 56-57.
32. According to his Moulid, Abdul Qadir Sani started to meet the saints who had called on him at his house in his absence and met them at Bhatkal where he was conferred the 'Khirqa'. Abdul Azeez Musliar, *Porattel Shaykh Moulid* (Ar. mal.), p. 7.
33. For his biography, K.K.M.A. Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal* (Mal.), pp. 22-43.
34. Mappila term for Dargha.
35. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 464.
36. Thurston refers to an armed clash between two factions for possession of a mosque in the Jamaath Masjid of Mullia-Kurissi in eastern Eranadu (Malappuram District).
37. A copy of their publication *From holy Quran* by B.C. Abdurahiman Kantapuram was given to me by Shaikh Ahmad Kutty Tangal with a copy of '*Hidayat al-Islam Tarjuma*' by Moosa Moulavi (1959) and some pamphlets mostly answers to the critics.
38. The Mala is composed by Ahmad Hasan of Tanur (1327 A.H.) which gives some clue to their influences in Tanur.
39. Refer the *Kondotty - Ponnani Kaitharkam* in E. Thurston, op. cit., IV, pp. 462-64.
40. Shaykh Ahmad Kuty Tangal, the present Shaikh of Naqshabandis told me at his residence that during the past "we have been passive sufferers and bore everything with patience, but now we defend ourselves though we do not believe

in offence".

41. Muhiyiddin Mala (Arabi-Malayalam), p. 11.
42. The poet Qazi Muhmmaed was warning the followers of other Tariqahs.
43. It was a process like Sufism of Bhakti moyement producing vast amount of literature which helped Urdu and vernacular language. Though it did not give birth to a langauge like Urdu, the Mappila Malayalam is very much different from local Malayalam with strong influence of Arabic, Persian and Telugu. Fawcett's observation 'War songs' reflect the real character of Mappila Malayalam.'War songsof Mappilas'. op. cit., p.502.
44. "Allah called him (Muhiyiddin) "Ghawth al Azam" Muhiyuddin Mala, p. 3.
45. Hagiographic literature attributes to many of the saints the title of Qutb al-Zaman.
46. The name given to Ichcha Mastan's songs. The late O. Abu has with great difficulty published three collections of his songs.
47. J. Spencer Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 197.
48. Shaikh Aliyyul Kufi of Peringathur spent much of his time in his cave.Muhammad Shah of Kondotty was first found in meditation with two tiger cubs on either side on an uninhabited hillock, by a group of hunters according to tradition.Ibn Miran Kutty, *Hazrath Muhammad Shah*, p. 13.
49. For details see chapter on ideology and practices.
50. See how "fana" achieved after treading many maqamat came to be equated with ecstacy by 12th century A.D. for the attainment of which perfumes and incense, music and invocations and even alcohol and drugs were used. J. Specer Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 199.
51. J. Spencer Trimmigham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*, pp. 30, 90, 189.
52. The character of the Muslim doctor also depicts how these men moved about neatly dressed in impressive style, compared to the other characters half naked, without wearing shirts. This perhaps represents a superior life style and culture which was one of the social causes for the voluntary acceptance of Islam, combined with economic benefits, by the lower caste Hindus.
53. For details see chapter on Sufism and Mappila life.
54. For an initiation, see Chapter on ideology and practices.
55. Masjid 'Zeenath Baksh' was built on the orders of Tipu Sultan.
56. Sufis in the sense of the one who was initiated. In that sense even Ibn-Battuta who was twice presented *Rifai Khirqa* was a Sufi.
57. Mariners and traders encouraged adventurous preachers and mystics to accompany them for various reasons. For details see, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*. Vol. I, pp. 409-410.
58. Ali al-Khawwas was the chief guide Murid Ash-Sharani who maintained no zawiyah and made no attempt to exploit his Barakah but was first a trader in oil-seeds and then as his *laqab* shows a paml-leaf plaiter.
59. Ibn-Battuta's reference to his finding hopitality is the best example.
60. J. Spencer Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 21 note 5.
61. 'Tuhfat al-Mujahideen...' was submitted to Ali Adilshah of Bijapur.
62. The three incidents of Manjeri, cited in Chapter One.
63. K.K.M.A. Kareem records the tradition that Tipu Sultan had called all the faqirs and Sufis to his camp at Farooqabad (Feroke). While going round their tents the Sultan saw only Muhammad Shah in prayer in the late hours of the night which pleased him very much. The Persian copper plate grants were lost from Kondotty darghah. *Hazrath Muhammad Shah* (Mal.), pp. 17-25

64. Six miles South-East of Calicut on the banks of the river Chaliyar at a distance of one mile from the confluence. On its confluence, on either side, are situated two most ancient ports of Beypore and Chaliyam. It was the most stratagic location according to the18th century standards. Its present name Feroke is a corruption of 'Farooqabad'.

Sufi Orders in Kerala

None of the eleven orders traced in Kerala do have too many followers. The Shadili Mala proves that Shadili Tariqah had once gained currency. A small number of mosques could be found even now wherein some followers reciting Shadili Dhikr. Abdulrahman Musliar of Kattampally claims to be the Khalifa of the Shadili Tariqah. Baiath to this Tariqah is easier as it consists mainly of the recitation of certain Dhikr a fixed number of times at appointed hours of the day.

All Tariqahs recognise Abdul Qadir Jilani as the greatest Shaykh and his Tariqah the noblest of all. Even the Ba-Alavi and Aydarus Tariqahs of purely Arab origin claim in title, 'Tariqah Qadiri al-Aydarusiyyah wal-Alawiyyah'. The Suhrawardi Shaykh of Porathel[1] called himself Abdul Qadir Sani out of respect for the first Abdul Qadir. Muhiyuddin Shaykh is commonly invoked by all Mappilas as the protector of all. But no Shaykh claimed that he was Shaykh of Qadiri Tariqah. So was the case with Rifai Silsilah. Mappilas have profound respect for Rifai Shaykh and his ratib is performed. Rifai Maulud is recited to guard against snake-bite. It is chanted to give relief from burnings too. Yet no Shaykh or murid claims his Rifai adherence now. Thus in the case of those two most important Tariqahs they are merged in other Tariqahs. In a way the ideology and practices of these two Tariqahs are inculcated and emulated by the rest and they do not have an independent existence. The best evidence of the Qadiri influence is the practice of reciting Qunut in Subhi prayer and the rosary of 99 beads.[2]

The most important Tariqah of Mappilas is 'Tariqah Qadiri al-Aydarusiyyah wa'l-alaviyyah'. An attempt is made in this study to draw the geneological tree of this Tariqah because Ba-Alavi and Aydarus Tariqahs originated among Sayyids of Tarim. It could be noted that the Bafaqih and Jifri line of Sufis too have merged in this Tariqah. Information available in the Encyclopaedia of Islam on Ba-Alavis, Bafakihs, and on Aydarus[3] have been helpful in tracing

the line of successors of the Tariqah.R.B. Serjeant's 'The Sayyids of Hadramawt',[4] and his article on 'Materials for South Arabian History[5] were put together with two monographs in Malayalam, on Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal[6] and on Sayyid Abdurahiman Bafaqi[7] Tangal.The articles of Shihabuddin Imbichikoya Tangal, senior Quadi of Calicut in the 'Panakkadu Tangal Smaraka Grandham' and of M.Ali Kunhi in 'Bafaki Tangal Smaraka Grandham' containing the geneological table and family history, with the manuscript of Sayyid Muhlar kept at Panakkadu were put together to compile this list. As only fragmentary information is available on the individual saints such a table would help in understanding the inter-connections of the Tariqahs which finally took the name of Tariqat Qadiri al-Aydarussiyyah wal-Alawiyyah.

According to Lofgren[8] the nisba'Ba' in South Yemen stands for Banu and is used to denote the sons or descendants like Al-Ba-Alavi or Awlad Ba Kushayr. Ba-Faqih therefore means Banu Faqih which in Malabar came to be called only by single term Bafaqi. The Ba-Alavis thus means descendants of Alavi. The Hadrami Sayyids are descenants of their legendary ancestor Ahmad al-Muhajir who migrated from Basra to Western Yemen with his son Ubaidulla and two companions in 317 A.H./929 A.D. In the year 340 A.H./951 A.D. he left with his son Ubaidulla for Hadramawt and lived at first near Tarim in Al-Haajaran, then in Karat Bani Jushayr and finally in Husayyisa where he bought the territory of Sawf above the town of Bowr, where he died in 345 A.H./956 A.D. His grand sons Basri Jadid and Alavi settled in Sumal, near Tarim. Tarim became the centre of the 'Alavi family in its wider sense of the offsprings of the Alavi, mentioned above.[9] Ahmad Muhajir's grand-son was the first Alavi of the line, but it was Muhammad al-faqih, al-faqih al-Muqaddam (674-633 AH/1178-1255 A.D.) eighth in descent from Muhajir who was the first well-known Sufi of the 'Alavi Tariqah'. It was from Sayyid 'Alavi Mouladdavila son of Muhammed Mouladdavila (705-768 A.H./1305-1364 A.D.) that the Ba-Alavi Tariqah originated as an independant Tariqah. The Ba-Alavi saints of Mamburam are his descendants and Sayyid Fasal, the great Mamburam Sayyid 'Alavi Tangal (d-1901 A.D), was tenth in descent from Sayyid Alavi Mouladdavila.[10] From Muhammad Sahib al-Mirbat (d-556 A.H./1162 A.D.), the sixth in descent from Ahamad Muhajir, descended the Bafaqih line of Sayyids.

Sayyid Abdurahiman Bafaqi Tangal was therefore the 21st descent from Muhammad Sahib al Mirbat.[11] The Jifri line of Sayyids descended from Muhammad al-Faqih al-Muqaddam. From Abdurahman al-Saqqaf, brother of Sayyid Alavi Mouladdavila, through his grand-son Shaykh Ali Shibuddin were born the ancestors of Panakkadu Tangals. It is in Abdul Rahman al-Saqqaf and Sayyid Mouladdavila that the Mamburam Tangal line and Shihabuddin 'Ali Shihabuddin descended the 'Aydarus line of Sufis. These family connections helped the development of one single Tariqah namely Tariqat Qadiri al-Aydarusiyah wal-Alwiyyah descended from Shaikh Ali Shihabuddin.[12]

Ali, the seventh ancestor of the present Tangal was the first of the line to come to Malabar. He lies buried at Baliapattam. His son Husain had married from the Arakkal Royal House and lies buried at the 'Ilayanre Palli' of Calicut. His son Sayyid Muhlar Kunhi Seethi Koya settled in Malappuram and died there. He popularised this Tariqah among Mappilas and laid down the rules of conduct, special Dhikrs and various Duas in a book.[13] Sayyid Hussain Attakoya Tangal was banished by the British Government in 1882 for his alleged involvement in the Mappila outbreaks of the nineteenth century and died in Vellore in 1885. He lies buried in the courtyard of the Mosque attached with the Baqiyat al-Salihat Arabic College.[14] Sayyid Muhammad Koya Kunhikoya was the man who built the Kodappanakkal house which is now the residence of the Shaykh of the Tariqah. This centre became the hub and axis of Mappila community during the life-time of the late Pookkoya Tangal.[15] His house was not merely a place where Murids were initiated or Dhikrs were taught. Men and women of all ages irrespective of community or caste thronged to his house to kiss his hand or to get a Dua or Tawis or prescription and for mediation in all affairs from matrimonial matters to politics of the State. He was made Qazi of eighty mosques, and parents of minor children with fortunes made him the custodian of properties. His devotees brought him presents of various kinds but they were distributed to the needy. It was because of that charisma and the Mappila's trust in his family that his son, Muhammad Ali Shihab, was elected president of Kerala State Muslim League.

Suhrawardi Tariqah was next in importance in Malabar. It was concentrated mostly in north Malabar. The Tariqah once had a large

following and one of its important Shaykhs, Sayyid Moula Bukhari, had spread his activities from Travancore to Managalore. Here also the difficulty is that though a continuous chain of the Silsilah is available, very little is known of the life and history of the Sufis of this order. Like all other orders, here also an important saint may become more venerable after death and Jaram (dargha) would spring up in his honour and memory. Characteristic of the Taifa stage the descendants or custodians of 'Jaram' becomes the next Wali whose importance is greater by virtue of his blood relationship to the deceased saint and not by his piety, wisdom or scholarship. Unless a descendant or successor could far excel the deceased saint in 'Karamah', which commands popular respect for him, he continues to be mere custodian of the Jaram, who will be then buried around the prominent Qabar and would attract little attention.

There was just a reverse process too. An unimportant Tariqah would take pride in an earlier well-known saint of the order. Malas would be composed, Mauluds would be held and Nerchas would be celebrated. Such was the case of Naqshabandis. One is surprised to see that the Saifuddin Mala composed in 1327 A.H. is the Mala on Shaikh Abdulrahiman al-Moulaviyyi,[16] one of the Sufis of Naqshabandi order. He died in 1320 A.H. at Tanur and was buried at Mahe Cherupalli. The Mala, though named after Saifuddin, has little on 'Nurul Huda Wali Saifuddin' who was the 26th Shaykh of the Tariqah but it actually is a Tadhkira of Abdurahmanul Moulaviyyi who was the 36th of the the Tariqah, according to the Mala.

The greatest of the Suhrawardi Shaykhs was Abdul Qadir Sani, known as Porathel Shaykh. His Manaqib[17] does not give the date of birth, but Says only 'Qarnul Ashir' (10th century A.H.). His date of death is given as 16th Dhul-Qaad, 983 A.H./1574 A.D. It is said that his father was one of the Sultans of Hamadan who had given up his kingdom and come to Baliapattam. Before his birth his father left and nobody knew where he had gone.

According to his Manaqib when he was 16, one day, a group of four strangers went to his house and asked his mother for food. She said, she had nothing except a cow belonging to Abdul Qadir. They killed the cow, cooked it and gave a little to her saying "Give it to your son when he

returns."[18] On his return his mother told him of the strangers and he took up their trail hoping to meet them. He met them in Bhatkal.[19] One of them asked "Have you got any food? He said: "Yes". Then they all ate it. Afterwards one of them called Ahmad al-Khabushani gave him '*Ijaza*' and '*Khirqa*'[20] He then returned home and the king who was pleased with him by his sincere service conferred on him the village of Porathel where he built a house and mosque and settled.

He had wide following and people from far off places came to visit him and became his Murids. Various miracles are attributed to him. It is reported by some of his Murids that one day the Shaykh was travelling with them in a boat. When the boat was reaching Cannanore, the Shaykh disappeared for a long time and then returned. He said, "My Shaykh Kamaluddin Muhammad al-Khabushani died and I prayed for him".[21] He advised special Awrad to his disciples which were regularly recited after prayers. His sphere of activities were mainly the Muslim centres of North Malabar. But he is said to have visited Ponnani many times, and one of the Makhdums of Ponnani was his Murid. He was acknowledged as Qutb-uz-Zaman.

The next Shaykh of the Suhrawardi Silsila was Al-Shaykh Wajihuddin Abdurahman al-Ummani, one of the Makhdums of Ponnani. He was the chief Murid of Abdul Qadir Sani and was asked by the Shaykh on his death bed, to be his Khalifah until his son Kamaluddin became of mature age, (16 years). The Murid obeyed. Kamaluddin later became well-known as the Kallayi Shaykh. It is said that the Makhdum used to awaken the boy Kamaluddin for calling out Adhan. One day, as usual, Makhdum called him but the boy did not reply. Twice he called but the boy replied only the third time. On being asked of the reason for not replying twice, the boy said, "when you called me twice the cock on the 'Arsh' of Rahman"[22] had not woke up." The Makhdum then asked him to be Imam."[23] In the end he said the first Salam and remained in that posture long, but the Mamums said the second Salam also and began their Dhikr. On being asked the reason, he said, "when I said my first salam I saw Prophet and companions in prayer and I could not take my eyes from them. Makhdum then understood that the boy had become of mature age and conferred on him the Khiriqa and Ijaza as his Shaykh, Abdul Qadir Sani had wished.[24] No Manaqib of Kamaluddin could be traced though he is the founder of the

family of Kallayi Shaykhs.

Shaykh Nuruddin, the next saint was the son of Kamaluddin. He was born in Vengad but migrated from there to Kallayi and later settled in Chaliyam where his Jaram stands now as a centre of 'Ziyarah'. The reasons for his migration is said to be that he killed a Hindu boy because he foresaw that on growing up he would bring 'Fitna' to Muslims. He had been attacked by Hindus for this and had to migrate. Various Karamath are attributed to him and his Mala says that he had Islam Jinns, Walis, birds and animals in his service.[25] According to the chronogram he died in 1048 A.H./1639 A.D. The Nuruddin Mala (composed in 1976) gives the names of all the Shaykhs of the Tariqah. Muhammad Kamaluddin Hamadani was the 49th in the Silsilah. The twelve Shaykhs who succeeded Nuruddin were the following:

1. Shaykh Kamaluddin Hamadani
2. Shaykh Muhammad Hamadani
3. Shaykh Kamaluddin sani al-Hamadani
4. Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Kamaluddin Hamadani
5. Shaykh Abdul Qadir Hamadani
6. Shaykh Nuruddin Hamadani
7. Shaykh Muhammad Al-Hamadani
8. Shaykh Kamaluddin Hamadani
9. Shaykh Abdul Qadir Ibn Muhammad al-Hamadani
10. Shaykh Abdul Qadir Ibn Abdul Qadir- Hamadani
11. Shaykh Kamaluddin Ibn Abdul Qadir Hamadani
12. Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Kamaluddin al-Hamadani

The later Shaykhs were mere custodians of the Jarams, the inheritors of the Barakah of the deceased saint by virtue of their blood relationship and not by scholarship, wisdom or piety. They were recipients of the offerings and in some cases of the income of endowments. They simply succeeded on the death of a custodian. In the case of Suhrawardis the scucession was limited to the family descendants. But the successor had to come of age, usually 16, in the Suhrawrdi Silsilah.[26]

The Makhdums of Ponnani were the Chishti Sufis in Kerala. Ponnani is said to have been founded by an Arab divine in 12th century for the religious instruction of the Muslims. Ponnani still is the 'Mecca of Malabar',

and it is there were the converts are initiated and trained.

Makhdums were more popular as theologians, scholars and mentors and were recognised as the highest eclesiastical authority by the Mappilas until the arrival of Muhammad Shah of Kondotty in 1130 A.H./1718 A.D. They produced many works on theology, Sufism and Shariah. No other line of Tangals had so many works in Arabic to their credit as the Makhdums. These works were regarded as text books in many Muslim countries.[27] This study could not yield Malas or Manaqibs of Makhdums, and not much Karamah are attributed to them. No geneological tree of these saints could be collected.

The authors of '**Arabi-Malayala Sahithyam**' are of opinion that the Makhdums were a tribe of Mabar in **South Arabia**.The very name Mabar for Coromandal coast is derived from them, as they settled in that region. Ponnani was a Muslim centre as far back as the 12th century. Tottungal Palli was the Jamaath Masjid before the construction of the big Jamaat Masjid by the Makhdums which became their centre of activity later on. According to tradition Tottungal Palli (Mosque near the canal) was constructed eight centuries ago at the behest of Shaykh Fariduddin Ibn Abdul Qadir Jilani on the bank of Appittodu.[28] Zayn ul-din Ibrahim Ibn Ahamad Mabari was brought from Cochin to Ponnani as Qazi. His nephew, Zaynuddin Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Al Mabari, was born in Cochin in 871 A.H./ 1467 A.D. He was the first Makhdum of Ponnani, known as the Senior Makhdum. His biography is given by his son in his book, Maslak al Adhkiya.[29] According to the author, his father Al-Shaykh Zaynuddin Ibn Ali was wavering on the path he should choose. Then one day on 24th Shaaban 914-A.H./1504 A.D. he had a dream in which he saw somebody advising him that the path of Tasawwuf was to be preferred, because Tasawwuf brings man nearer to his target (God).[30] After completing his studies under eminent scholars he joined the Dars of Qazi Abdul Rahman Adami-al-Misri and got permission (Ijazah) for reciting Hadith. Then he became a student of Al-Shaykh al-Jalil Khwaja Qutbuddin and Khwaja Izzud-din Chishti and specialised in Chishtiya and Qadiriya[31] Tariqahs.He is the author of many works. Some of them are:

1. Murshid ut-Tullab

2. Siraj ul-Qulub
3. Shams ul-Huda
4. Tuhfat al-Ahibba
5. Kitab as-Safa min al-Shifa[32]
6. Tahsil al-Kafiyah[33]
7. Shub al-Iman[34]
8. Hidayatul-Adhkiya Ila Tariqat al-Awliya.

The Makhdum established the big Juma Masjid of Ponnani and made it his head-quarters, where he instructed students. Ponnani gained the name of 'Mecca of Malabar' and the 'Fatwas' from the Makhdums were sought not only by Mappilas but from the Muslim communities of Indian Archipelago who regarded Muslim of Malabar as their teachers. Zayn Ud-din Makhdum died in Ponnani in 928 A.H./1521 A.D. The Second Makhdum Shaykh Abdul Aziz Makhdum Mabari was the second son of the first Makhdum. He was also the author of many works thus keeping the tradition of the Makhdums. True to the tradition of the Makhdums, leading the society in time of necessities 'Abdul Aziz wrote letters to various Muslim rulers of the world to help the Mappilas and the Zamorin in their fight against the Portuguese. He personally led the Muslim army in the historic battle of Chaliyam in 1571 A.D.[35] He died in 994 A.H./1587 A.D.[36]

Al-Shaykh Al-Ghazzali was the third son of the first Makhdum. He was the Qazi al-Quzat of many masjids of Malabar. Some of the manuscripts of his Fatwas are found in the library of Arakkal Palace of Cannanore. He died in Mahe and was buried in Chombal grave yard.

The next Makhdum, Shaykh Zayn ud-din ibn al-Gazzali al-Mabari was known as the Junior Makhdum. After his preliminary studies, he went to Mecca where he became a student of the great scholar Imam Ibn-Hajar al-Haytami. It is said when he became the Makhdum, Ibn Hajar al-Haytami had come to Ponnani and stayed there. Though there is no evidence to support this tradition, copy of Fatwa written in Ibn Hajar's own hand-writing kept in the library of Shihabuddin Ahamad Koya of Chaliyam perhaps suggests that it might have been written during his stay at Ponnani. Zayn ud-din Ibn Ali's renowned Tuhfat....was submitted to Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (1557-1580 A.D).

His important works were:

1. Qurrat al- 'Ayn
2. Ajibat al-Ajibah
3. Minhaj al-Wadih
4. Irshad
5. Tuhfat al-Mujahidin...
6. Fathhul-Muin.

The importance of Tuhfat has been discussed elsewhere. Al-Irshad had been published from Malabar and Egypt many times. Fathh al-Muin became famous throughout Malabar and in the East Indies. Succession in the Makhdum family came to be recognised on matrilineal line according to the local custom of Muslims. The first Makhdum to succeed on matrilineal line was Abdurrahman Ibn 'Uthman, son of a daughter of the first Makhdum.

Like the rest of the Sufi orders in Kerala, a continuous history of the Makhdums cannot be written. Prof. K.V. Abdul Rahman, himself a native of Ponnani working on the history of Ponnani had to confess: "It is not possible to trace in proper sequence of Makhdums who succeeded Abdu Rahman Ibn Uthman. However, in a statement made in 1812 by the Makhdum of that time, Pazhayakath Zaynuddin, and included in the Mackenzie collection of Manuscripts, he stated that he was the 29th Makhdum".[37] In the year 1969 A.D., the then Makhdum was sixteenth from the Makhdum who lived in 1812, which shows that he was the 45th in the line of succession. Succession in other Tariqahs also shows approximately an equal number.

Over and above being great scholars and leaders of the community in war and peace, many of these Makhdums were well-versed in athletic feats.[38]

Ponnani became the centre of religious learning which attracted people from all over Malabar. The big Jamaath masjid thus took up the place of Khanqah of the order. The new entrants were trained by the senior ones and they in turn were taught by the elders and the senior-most and the deserving few were called to "sit at the lamp" by the Makhdum to be personally instructed by him and after solemn oaths, were conferred the coat and cap with the title of Musaliar. It is reported that in 1906 there

were 300 such students in Ponnani.[39] As this study could not yield the details of the ceremony of conferring the coat and cap , it could not be ascertained whether these Musaliars were also required to vow allegiance (Baiath) to the Chishti Tariqah.

Available materials clearly speak of the wide-spread acceptance of Naqshabandi Tariqah in bygone days. Unfortunately even the present Shaykh could not provide me sufficient information to compose a continuous history except the Silsilah of the order.[40] The Arabi - Malayalam literature has innumerable fatwas issued by Qaziz and Muftis of Kerala on various issues of religious and social significance. The authors of *Arabi-Malayala-Sahithyam* has recorded that Baithan Ahmad Musaliar of Payyanadu[41] who died in 1315 A.H./1898 A.D. was a strong critic of Naqshabandi Tariqah. He had written replies to the arguments of the Naqshabandi Alims, Padur Koya Kutty Tangal and Ali Hassan Moulavi. This shows that towards the end of the last centruy Naqshabandi Tariqah had a wider following powerful enough to argue their cause. Now the followers of the Tariqah are confined to Maruvittil Tazham[42] (Wynad), Kantapuram, Kizhisseri,[43]Kondotty, and Chelembra.[44] But the Tariqah had a wider following in Tanur earlier, as is shown in the Saif ud-din Mala.

The Mala was composed by Kunhi Ahmad Kutty of Tanur in 1327 A.H. Shaykh Abdurahman Moulavi on whom the Mala was composed, died in Tanur and was buried at Ayur. The Karamah of his Jaram as described in the Mala shows the respect he commanded in the locality. Their publications like Hidayat al-Islam-Tarjama and 'From Holy Quran' and innumerable booklets give only their ideology stressing on the inner meaning of the Quran and the need of an Imam.[45] The present Shaykh Sayyiduna Ahmad Kutty Tangal took the Tariqah from Shaykh Qadir Moulavi who took the Tariqah from Shaykh Kunhi Ahmad Kutty (Ahmad al-Sufi). Ahmad al sufi was, perhaps, the first Shaykh of the Tariqah in Malabar. Abdurahman Moulavi who died in 1320/1902 according to the author of Saifuddin Mala was second in succession in the silsilah. Hence it is reasonable to assume that Wali Ahmad al sufi succeeded not earlier than the second half of the 19th century.

The official version of the history of the Tariqah as given by the present

Shaykh, Shaykh Ahmad Kutty Tangal, does not include Abdurahman Moulavi, which shows that a definite line of succession was not recognised in 1902. The present line starts from Puthan Vittil Shaykh who is regarded as the founder of Tariqah. He was succeeded by Karuvampoyil Shaykh and, after him, the Silsilah became inactive. The next Shaykh was Puttan Vittil Ahmad Kutty. He began the systematic enrolment of Murids who were required to sign in a Register, kept at his residence. The practice was started in 1928 as the signature of the Shaykh shows. Until 4th December, 1977, when the last signature was made, 1659 Murids had signed the register.[46]

In 1921, Naqshabandis were excommunicated by the Sunni 'Ulama and forbidden from entering the mosques. It cannot be ascertained whether it was this act which compelled the Naqshabandis not to attach much significance to the mosques. This neglect of the mosque combined with their stress on the inner meaning of the Qran made it easy for their rivals to allege that their Qibla and Masjid and even Kalima were different. So, no social mingling and inter-marriages with them take place. On 18th February of 1979, two Naqshabandi followers were killed in a clash with Sunnis. The Shaykh told the present writer that they would not remain any more passive sufferers and that they would launch resistance but would not offend however. They stress that the hidden knowledge could be acquired only through an Imam and for all ages there are Imams. To find him and accept his guidance is the duty of every individual and those who die without knowing him will be at loss.[47]

The Sunni attitude to Tariqahs as expressed in one of the meetings of the *Samastha Kerala Jamiyyat al Ulama* is hostile. Yet the Qadiri and Rifai Moulids are recited and Ratibs are performed. The Wahhabis never recognise even the *Qadiri practice of reciting Qunut* in Subhi prayer and the use of the rosary of 99 beads. The Shaykhs of Tariqah Qadiri al-Aydarusiyya Wa al-Alwaiyya are held in high esteem because of their Sayyid lineage. The common man adores the sufis not because of their Tariqahs but because of the fact that they are mostly pious men. This piety has given them a charisma of holiness commanding respect.

It appears that a detailed field work would yield more information on

Sufi orders, as the names of some of the families and business houses of foreign origin who have settled on Malabar coast for 200 years or more have surnames identical with Sufi orders.

Notes

1. A village in Cannanore District.
2. The Non-Sunni Mappilas do not recite Qunut in Subhi prayer.
3. E.I. (N.Ed.) Lofgren articles on Ba-alavis, Faqih Ba and Aydarus.
4. I am gratedul to Dr. Stephen F. Dale of Ohio University for sending me xerox copy of this book from England, which facilitated not only this study but to develop my idea of the origin of the term, 'Mappila'.
5. R.B. Serjeant. Materials for south Arabian history. *BSOAS. XIII* (1) (1949), pp. 281-307.
6. K.K.M.A. Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, Tirurangadi (1970)
7. Attakkoya Pallikkandi, *Bafaqi Thangal*, Calicut (1973).
8. E.I. Lofgren's article on Ba.
9. E.I., O. Lofgren's article on Ba-Alavi, p. 828.
10. K.K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, pp. 19-20
11. M. Ali Kunhi, *Sayyid Abdurahiman Bafaqi Tangal Smaraka Grandham* (1973), p. 67.
12. Shihabuddin Imbichikoya Tangal, *Panakkad Tangal Smaraka Grandham*, p. 176.
13. The manuscript is in the possession of the present Shaykh Muhammad Ali Shihab. Shaykhs on succession adds their name in silsilah. The initiation ceremony entered in the chapter on ideology and practices is a direct translation from the above book. The silsila of the saints is also taken from the book.
14. Shihabuddin Imbichikoya Tangal, loc. cit., p. 175.
15. For the respect he commanded, vide, chapter on Sufism and Mappila life.
16. It was composed by Muhammed Kunhi Marakkar Moulavi and printed in 1327 A.H./ 1909 A.D. at the Matbaath al-Islamiya Tirur.
17. Abdul Azeez Musaliar, *Manaqib Waliyyullahi al-Rabbani Wal-Ghawth al-Samadani Al Shaykh abdul Qadir al-Sani* (Arabic) (1972). It is not known whether there was an old manaqib which is quite possible as the Shaykh was widely respected.
18. Abdul Azeez Musaliar, *op.cit.*, p.7
19. Bhatkal is a township in Karnataka. For the origin of the term, vide, Dr.Victor S.D'souza, *The Nawayats of Canara*, p.53. It was one of the oldest Muslim settlements and home of the Bhatkal Muslims.
20. Abdul Azeez Musaliar, *op.cit.*, p.6
21. *Ibid.*,p.8
22. The reference is to the popular belief that it dawns only when the cock on the throne of Allah cries.
23. Only the leader of prayer in this context.
24. *Manaqib Waliyullahi...Abdul qadir al Sani*, p.28
25. P.T. Muhammad, Nuruddin Mala, p.4, Mappilas believed that there are Islam Jinn and Kafir Jinn and that Islam Jinn do good to Muslims.
26. Al-Shaykh Abdul Qadir Sani conferred the Khriqa to his chief Murid Al-Shaykh Wajihuddin Abdu Rahman 'Ummani with instruction that the Khariqa should be conferred on his son Kamaluddin on maturity (16 years) *Manaqib Waliyullahi...al-Sani*, pp.26-27.
27. Reference to *Fathul Muin*, and *Adhkiya* and similar works discussed in detail

elsewhere.

28. K.V. Abdurahman, Ponnani, A Brief Historical Accout, *M.E.S.Ponnani College Souvenir* (1969),pp.15-19.
29. This book was written as a commentary to 'Adhkiya...'.
30. K.M.Muhammad, op.cit., p.101
31. Arabi-Malayalam Sahityam, pp.140-141.
32. An abridgment of Qazi Iyad's Kitab al-Shifa.
33. Sharah of Ibn Hajiba's Kafiyath
34. Arab translation of Allama Sayyid Nuruddin's Persian work Sha'b al-Iman.
35. Qazi Muhammad, *Fathul Muin* in *Jawahir ul-Ashaar* pp.246-47.
36. *Arabi Malayala Sahityam*, p.144
37. K.V. Abdurahman, 'Ponnani, A Brief Historical Account', M.E.S. Ponnani College Souvenir (1969) p.16.
38. K.V. Abdurahman has given an incident in which when a powerful Chieftain, Vettam Pokker, made an attempt to forcibly enter the mosque, supported by his followers, Ali Hasan Musaliyar of Valiyaputiyakam who later became Makhdum foiled his attempts, as he was well-versed in athletic feats.
39. E.Thurston, *op.cit.*, Vol IV, p.469.
40. See Appendix on the Silsilah provided by the present Shaykh to the present writer at his residence.
41. A Muslim settlement from the sixteenth century, 4 miles east of Manjeri.
42. 20 miles north of Calicut, also the headquarters of the Shaykh of Naqshabandi Tariqah.
43. 2 miles north on the Kondotty - Areacode road.
44. A village near the Calicut University Campus.
45. For details, see chapter on ideology and practices.
46. The present Shaykh, Shaykh Ahmad Kutty Tangal told me that the practice is not continued now.
47. For details of the Philosophy as propounded in Hidayat al-Islam Tarjuma, See Chapter on Ideology and Practice.

Ideology and Practice

The source material available in Kerala on Sufism does not particularly deal with the Divine Existence and its rationale, but the ways to be followed for the attainment of eternal bliss and peace have received copious treatment. The chief objective is the realisation of God until "He becomes manifest through the limbs of His slave". The status of 'Haqq' and 'Khalq', 'Rabb' and 'Abd', 'Ashiq' and 'Mashuq' were recognised. All the toils of men were to be aimed at the attainment of eternal bliss, God's pleasure. The concept of 'Fana' was also prevalent, though later it degenerated[1]. In short it was not, "a sphere of spiritual experience which runs parallel to the main stream of Islamic consciousness deriving from prophetic revelation and comprehended within the Sheria and theology"[2], as Spencer Trimmingham described the Sufi ideology, but in Kerala was only subject to the Shariah. According to Hidayat al-Adhkiya of Shaykh Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali[3];

وَكَذَا الطَّرِيقَةُ وَالْحَقِيقَةُ يَا أَخِي
مِنْ غَيْرِ فِعْلِ شَرِيعَةٍ لَنْ تَحْصُلَا

'The' Tariqah and 'Haqiqah' are like that, oh brother! you can't attain them without acts as propounded by Shariah".

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that Sufism in Kerala was absoslutely free from any philosophic advancement. The existence of La maujuda Illallah party, and their opponent, Radd la maujuda Illallah party, in whose names mosques are known in Valapattanam shows that these philosophies were prevalent and were strong enough to divide the community and found separate mosques. Except these names nothing is evident to refer to these groups later on. After Shariah human virtues and pious and devotional acts were stressed in Adhkiya. "If anybody asks you about the Tariqah of Auliya, let them follow the following acts".

(1) اَلتَّوْبَةُ (Repentance), (2) اَلْقَنَاعَةُ (Contentment),

(3) زُهْدٌ(Renunciation), (4) تَعَلُّمُ الْعِلْمِ الشَّرْعِيِّ(Acquiring religious knowledge), (5) مُحَافِظٌ عَلَى السَّيِّئِ(Guarding against sins), (6) تَوَكُّلٌ (Entrusting every thing to god), (7) لِلّٰهِ الْإِخْلَاصُ (Sincerely), (8) اَلْعُزْلَةُ (Secluded life), (9) حِفْظُ الْأَوْقَاتِ (Punctuality in prayer) and (10) صَلَاةُ الْفَجْرِ. (Prayer of dawn). Even the manners to be observed on occasions like eating and sleeping are described[4].

Shaykh Ibn Muhammad al-Jifri (d.1222 A.H/1807 A.D) the Ba-alavi saint who migrated to Calicut from Tarim in (1159 A.H/1746 A.D) describes the qualities a Sufi should have as represented by the four letters in the word Tasawwuf (تَصَوُّف). According to him the first letter (ت) represents Tawakkal (Entrusting every thing to god), Taqiyyah (guarding against sins), Tafaqquh (having deep knowledge of religious science), Taabbud (being immersed in worshipping God alone) and Tajarrud bi-llah (fully devoted to god). The second letter (ص) represents Sidq al Waad (keeping the promise), Safh (forgiveness), Sabr (patience), Safv (purity of heart), Salat (prayer) and Siyam (fasting). The third letter (و) represents Wudd (sincere love for God), Wajl (fear of God in disobeying him) and Wird (chanting hymns). The last letter (ف) represents 'Fasl' (detaching all connections from this world). Firar (keeping away from the universe) and Fana (being fully immersed in the thought of God)[5]. Then he adds that a perfect Sufi should fully obey the words of the Prophet and should also be a good scholar, well versed in religious sciences and an honest and dependable man. These books thus show that it was not a sphere of spiritual experience running parallel to the Shariah but very much part of the Shariah, which Hidayat Al-Adhkiya expresses in an allegory:

فَشَرِيعَةٌ كَسَفِينَةٍ وَطَرِيقَةٌ وَحَقِيقَةٌ فَانْمَعْ لَهَا مُتَأَمِّلَا

مَنْ رَامَ دُرَّ السَّفِينَةِ يَرْكَبُ وَيَغُوصُ بَحْرًا ثُمَّ دُرًّا مُحْصِلَا

"Sheriah is like a ship, Tariqah like an ocean, and Haqiqah (God) like the precious pearl. Whoever aspires for the pearl must embark on the ship and dive into the ocean for it and then get it'. Though Zuhd (renunciation) was advised, asceticism did not exist in Kerala. All the Sufis led normal lives; Al-adhkiya mentions, "Service to mankind and the humble" as part of a Sufi's duties. Perhaps, only one faqir known as Ichcha Mastan, who lived in Cannanore, led a life of poverty. He was a brassware merchant

who gave up the profession to wander like a lunatic and one addicted to drug as he himself admitted. He wrote his highly philosophic couplets with chalk or charcol either on walls or roads or such places, which were copied down by his fans. Ye it remains to be decided how far he was a Sufi[6].

The concept of Auliya (chosen one of God) was deep rooted even in the consciousness of common men. Any Muslim with a large green turban or a fez cap, a coat or a long shirt, with a long beard whispering a Dhikr or Dua, and moving around in the crowd or countryside shouting 'La Ilaha illallah' was considered an Auliya whom the illiterate masses looked upon with fear and reverence. Various titles were given to the Sufis according to their piety and Karamat. Some of the titles were Sultan ul- Auliya, Shaykh ul- Mashaikh, Gawth al-Azam and Shaykh al-arifin. The concept of an Imam and Qutb al-Zaman of every age was also prevalent. Anecdotes in hagiographic literature show that the recognition of the maqam of 'Qutb-al-Zaman' was made by an eminent scholar of the day of a far off land or by devotees. It was not conferred by one's own disciples. It was Muhammad Bhakkari of Mecca, an emeinent saint of his time that recognized Abdul Qadir Sani as Qutb al-Zaman;[7] Sayyid Moula Bukhari (1731-1793) was recognised as the great Shaykh of his time by another great Shaykh in Mecca[8]. Eminent Sufis and saints often travelled in far off lands to be disciples of well known Shaykhs or in search of Qutb ul-Zaman'.

It was the secret knowledge that God taught to Adam[9] that exalted him above Angels whereas their disadvantage was that they were not given that knowledge[10]. This knowledge was taught to Adaam because he was God's Khalifah on Earth.[11] According to the Naqshabandis as propounded in Hidayat al-Islam Tarjuma by Musa Moulavi, after prophethood there comes an Imam for every age. The Quranic verse for obeying Ulil-Amr[12] according to them referes to the Imam of the age. It is the duty of every man to search for the Imam and those who die without knowing the Imam and acquiring the secret knowledge is at loss[13].

Gradation of Sufis was made according to the maqam they had attained. According to Shaykh Ibn-Muhammad al-Jifri's (d.1222 A.H/ 1807 A.D) Kanz al - Barahin, faqir is the leader of the Sufi, Sufi the leader of the faqirh and faqih the leader of the rest[14]. It was a pracrical view as could be translated

into action and not a philosophical conceptual gradation as that of Ali al-Hujwiri[15]. The Qutb al-Zaman was in Sufi concept at the head of the Auliya. In Sufi doctrine Wilayat is ever active and timeless, "Haquiqat al-Muhammadiyya in every epoch takes the form of one known as 'Qutb Zamanihi' (the axis of the age) only in a few chosen mystics. The concept of Qutb upon whom the world subsists at the head of an invisible heirarchy of Auliya goes back to a period long before the time of Ibn al-arabi and it is popularly regarded as having originated with Dhun-nunul-Misri, inheritor of Egyptian mystic tradition. But later on every holy man became a Qutb[16]. "The Walis are purest among his creation. He has chosen them for the Wilayat and distinguished them by conferring on them unique grace (Karamah)'. "Those are they whom he created for himself to be with him from eternity".[17] All these concepts were put in comprehensible forms in the popular Malas like Muhiyiddin Mala (1607) and Rifai Mala. " I have created you to be lieutenant to me heard he a voice like this".[18] "Allah, the Creator himself called him Oh: Gawth al-Azam". "For *Jinn Ins* and for *Malaks* I am Shaykh for them all". "All the *Walis* and the *Qutbs* are to me like children of the house". "With God's grace my legs are on the shoulders of all the Shaykhs sayeth he".[19]

These and the scucceeding lines of the Muhiyuddin Mala (1607) propound in comprehensive terms the highly philosophical doctrines of Sufism to the illiterate mass of Malabar.

The Auliyas were the very embodiment of popular concept of Sufism. The Sufi notion that an Auliya will not be known to his contemporaries prevailed. So people venerated every pious man whom they thought would be a faqir or Auliya. An incident recorded by E. Thurston shown the Mappila's belief in faqirs. "A beggar died (probably of starvation) by the roadside in the Valluvanadu Taluk.[20] When alive, no one worried about him, but after he died it was said that celestial voices had been heard uttering the call to prayer at the spot. The Mappilas decided that he was a very holy man. A little tomb was erected, a light was burnt and a banner was deposited by the devotees and the 'faithful' who go in numbers placed a money-box also to receive their contribution".[21] This blind veneration gave rise to many imposter faqirs.

An Auliya need not necessarily belong to a Tariqah "The gift of Wilaya has nothing to do with the Tariqah. It is possible to be a Wali and be completely devoid of mystical gifts, and is equally possible to be a mystic, illuminated with the highest vision of God without being a Wali".[22] Hagiographic literarute provides many instances when holy men retired to solitude and wilderness.[23] Illiterate masses, ignorant of the significance of this retirement said that these men were retiring for *Jinnu Seva* (Service of Jinn) because it was after this retirement that Karamaha were revealed which people believed were due to the Jinn at his service. Since the period of retirement was 40 days this was certainly the Sufi practice of Arbainiyya.[24]

Sufis in Kerala were never recluses or ascetics. They engaged in their professions and took service to man as one injunction of Sufism. Hidayat al-Adhkiya has put service to man (Khidmat lil-nas) and humble (Haml al-Hatab) Sufis - as one of the ways to the attainment of Wilayat.[25] They were great scholars, authors, Qazis, and Muftis as in the case of the Makhdums, the Chishti Saints. They took part in Jihad and Makhdum Abdul Aziz and Ashshaykh Abul Wafa Muhammad al-Kalikuti[26] personally led the attacks on Chaliyam Fort in 1571. In mid 19th century the Ba-Alavi saint, Sayyid Fasal, was the guiding spirit of the Mappila outbreaks– the community's reaction to western onslaughts or the regional varient of the 19th century Islamic revivalism. The Sufis were instrumental in mass conversions either by karamah or zeal of proselytization and the development of many of the inland settlements. All of them are credited with founding several mosques and often the most important mosques would serve as the headquarters of the Tariqah or would house a Saint's Jaram.[27]

The importance attached to 'sanad' was great. The Shaykhs or Sufis without 'sanad' were despised,[28] but not be Walis. The Shaykhs usually designated their successors. In the case of Makhdums the elder members of the four original families decided the successors.[29] But as early as the beginning of 16th century, the descent in matrilineal line was recognised, as was the local Muslim custom in Ponnani. No other Sufi line follows this matrilineal line of succession. If on the death of the Shaykh no blood relation had attained maturity, the practice was to entrust the Khirqa and

other symbols and appoint a Murid as Shaykh until the successor-designate attained maturity.[30] Sufis themselves were attracted to the path, or often Prophet Mohammed, Abdul Qadir Jilani, a faqir or 'an old man' appeared in dreams and asked them to follow the Tariqah or instructed them to go to a Shaykh in a far off land according to the hagiographic literarute. Many such instances are cited.[31]

A Murid was initiated with a solemn ceremony, confessions and oaths. Definite rules were laid down for the ceremony. They were recorded in a book in Arabic. Such a book is preserved in the family of Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shihab as a prized possession. Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shihab is the present Shaykh of Tariqat Qadiri al-Aydarusiyyah wa al-Alawiyyah. On succession each Shaykh enters his name in the Silsila.[32] The initiation ceremony is given as follows:

> If an honest Murid (the man who intends to become a Murid) comes to you and asks for your guidance (Irshad) explain him the apparent features of the Tariqah as you know. Then ask him to perform ablution and say two Rakaats of Namaz with the intention (Niyyat) that I am entering the Tariqah al-Qadiri al-Aydarusiyyah wa-al Alawiyya. Then he should sit as in Namaz and should hold out his hands so that the Shaykh's hands should be placed in his hands. Then he should repent or confess (Tawba) all his sins from the age of fifteen until the time he is taking the oath of allegiance (Baiat). The Shaykh should recite the prayer.....
>
> God said to Prophet, Oh Prophet say this is my way (Tariqah). I invite you to Allah, to me and all those who followed me.

Then follows long verses from the Quran which ends with a prayer. May Allah include us among the chosen (Khass) servants of Him and may He help us to earn His ardent love. Prophet said:

> This is my right path, so follow me. You should not follow the path that would lead you astray from His way.
>
> Then recite to him Surat al-Fatiha and two Kalima. The Murid should pronounce them and say three times,.....

Then he should say salat on the Prophet.....

Then the Shaykh should close his eyes and say three times "Listen to me, listen to me, listen to me. Then he (Shaykh) should say ... three times. Then you should recite what is to be pronounced as 'Baiath'. Then the Murid should say "I believe in Allah and in all His commands, and in the Prophet and his commands and in all the intentions (Murad) of Allah and Rasul. I keep away from all sins, I become a Muslim and pronounce Shahadat. I affirm my allegiance in Prophet with Caliphs (as witness) with the five duties of Shahadat, Namaz, Zakath, Fast and Hajj. I also do affirm allegiance that I would not commit 'shirk', theft, fornication and commit homicide, backbiting, and would not oppose good deeds.

(Then follows verses from Quran).....

The Shaykh should say, I advise you to obey Him, three times, and after the third time advise you and me to obey Him. Then follow a verse from the Quran which means certainly I have advised (demanded) you (People) and all those to whom book was revealed to be devoted to Allah. Allah is pleased with believers when they took allegiance to you under the tree, He knew that is in their hearts and gave peace of mind (easiness) and near victory.

Then Murid should say to the Shaykh, I have taken Allah to be my protector, Islam my religion, Muhammed my Prophet and messenger, Quran my Imam, Kaaba my Qibla, and Namaz compulsory duty, believers my brothers and Siddique, Faruq, Dhu al-Nuraini (Usman) and Murtaza (Ali) as leaders. May God bless them and us. I take Sultan al-Auliya al-Shaykh Abu Muhammad Muhiyud-Din Abdul Qadir Jilani as our Shaykh, our leader and our intercessioner. Then he would say three times, I take you as my Ustad and Shaykh.

The Shaykh should say:

I am pleased with you. I accept you as Murid and son.

> Then the Shaykh should take his hand from the hands of Murid and pray for him (Murid) and all the assembled. Then it is desirable for the Shaykh to ask him to recite, "I accept this Tariqah al-Qadiri al-Aydarusiyyah wa al-Alawiyya of Muhiyuddin Shaykh". Then the Shaykh should make the Murid wear Khirqa and say: "I make you wear this Khirqa as my Shaykh made me wear this, who was made to wear it by his Shaykh....."[33] Thus the Silsila leading to the prophet is to be narrated and pray that may He convert this Khirqa for you to a veil of devotion.

As there was no distinct Khanqahs, the Murids were not required to be in constant company of the Shaykhs. They could make occasional visits. They had the privilege of being invited to ceremonial occassions or celebrations like marriages and Urs and for succession ceremonies.[34]

In the early periods, during the heyday of the community the Chistis, Suhrawardis and Ba-Alavis had good relations with the courts of local Rajas. Zamorin had recognised the Makhdums as the head of the Mappila community. He used to send robes of honour on the occasion of succession. Ponnani, the Mappila centre, under the spiritual leadership of Makhdums became Zamorin's chief Arsenal.[35] Shaykh Hassan Jifiri and his descendants, the Mamburam Tangals, were recognised heads of Mappilas of Eranad and Valluvanad Taluks by the Zamorins.[36] The Suhrawardi saint Abdul Qadir Sani received the village of Porathel as Inam from the local Raja according to his Manaqib. Tipu Sultan gave the right of tax collection of ten villages stretching from River Chaliyar to Anakkayam to Muhammad Shah of Kondotty. The Persian copper plate grants registering this Inam, written by Tipu's lieutenant Mir Sadiq, was somehow lost from the Tangal family.[37] After the arrival of Europeans when the Ulema and Muslim divines led 'Jihad', the Sufis also had taken part in the struggle. Later in 19th century, the Ba-Alavi saint Sayyid Fasal was believed to have spearheaded Mappila outbreaks and was banished to Turkey where he died as a noble courtier of Sultan Abdulhameed.

Sufism in Kerala exhibited all the main external features and internal philosophies. The Arabi-Malayalam dialect helped the transmission of Sufi ideas. The Malas equivalent of Tadhkiras, Moulids and Manaqibs, with their

highly philosophical nature, preserve the strong tradition of Sufism. Asceticism was not practised, though some 'majzubs' could be found. Sufism was always regarded as subject to Shariah by the Mappilas.

Notes

1. Fana which could be attained only after treading many maqamat later on came to be equated with ecstacy for the attainment of which music, drums and even drugs were used. For the practice called Ratib see, chapter on Sufism and Mappila life.
2. J. Spencer Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 1.
3. Zain al-Din ibn Ali, *Hidayat al Adhkiya ila Tariqat al-Awliya*, p. 2.
4. Ibid., pp. 1-6
5. K.M. Muhammad, op. cit., p. 82.
6. O. Abu, *Ichcha Mastanre Viruttangal.* He compares him with 'Umar Khayyam'.
7. *Manaqib Waliyullahi....., p.9.*
8. Chettuvayi Abdul Qadir, *Sayyid Moula* (Mal.), pp. 10-12.
9. وَعَلَّمْنَاهُ مِنْ لَدُنَّا عِلْمًا
10. سُبْحَانَكَ لَا عِلْمَ لَنَا إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَا
11. إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً
12. أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ
13. *Hidayar al-Islam Tarjuma*, pp. 58-60. The difference of the knowledge that could be written down and which could not be written was recognised by Al-Ghazzali. In the beginning of Ihya al-Ulum ud-Din, he says: "The concern of this book is with practical knowledge (Ilm al-muamalah) only, rather than contemplative knowledge (Ilm al-mukashafa) which one is not allowed to be set down in books (though it is the real purpose of the seeker)". J. Spencer Trimmingham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
14. K.M.Muhammed, op.cit., p.90.
15. *Kashf al-Mahjub* (Tran.R.A.Nicholson), p.214. "Of these who have power to loose and bind and are the officers of the divine court, there are three hundred called Akhyar forty called Abdal and Seven called Abrar and four called Awtad and three called Nuqbq and one called Qutb or Ghawth".
16. J.Spencer Trimmingham, *op.cit.*, p.163
17. *Ibid.*,p.141.
18. Qazi Muhammad, *Muhiyiddin Mala*, (Arabi-Malayalam), p.8.
19. *Ibid.*,p.3.
20. In Malappuram District.
21. Totenham as quoted by E.Thurston, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV,p.468.
22. J.Spencer Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*,p.141.
23. Example of Kondotty Tangal in a Mountain in the company of tiger cubs and Shaykh Aliyyu al-Kufi of Peringathur meditating in his lonely cave on the hill of Kanaka Mala.
24. According to Qadiris even 'a visualisation of God was possible if Arabainiyya was accepted'. J.Spencer Trimmingham, *op,.cit.*,p.190.
25. Shaykh Zayn ud -din Ibn Ali, Hidayat al-Adhkiya,p.3.
26. Buried in Calicut, he is known an Appani Shaykh (Shaykh of rice-cake fair), Many

Karamah are attributed to him.

27. Stories are prevalent of how magnificient mosques in far off settlements were erected by the saints, due to the favour and the help won by Karamah from a local ruler or a wealthy man.
28. Musa Moulavi, condemns the Shaykhs without 'Sanad' *Hidayat al Islam Tarjama*, pp.56-60.
29. The four Taravads were Kizhikkekam, Padinjarakam, Thareekkamakam, Padinjare Pazhayakam. Prof. K.V.Abdulrahman, *loc.cit.*, p.16.
30. Abdul Qadir Sani, the Suhrawardi saint entrusted the Khirqa to his chief Murid to hand it over to his son, Shaykh Kamaluddin on maturity. Manaqib *'Abdul Qadir'*, p.18.
31. The first Makhdum himself was advised to follow the path of "Tasawwuf" in dream by an "Old man" according to *Masalak al-Adhkiya*.
32. The Shaykh, Panakkad Muhammadali Shihab permitted me to see the manuscript on 12th July, 1980. The manuscript was written by Sayyid Muhlar the fifth grand-father of the present Tangal. The book also includes long and specific Dua of the Tariqah.
33. This is a direct translation of the pages on initiation. The long Duas are omitted for conveniences.
34. Abdurahiman Tangal of the Kondotty Tangal family told me that whenever any member of the Tangal's family visited a village he had first to visit his Murid's house or give sanads and preferences, as being invited first to a marriage in the family of the Shaykh.
35. K.V.Abdurahiman, *loc.cit.*, (1969),p.17
36. The two Taluks which form major part of Malappuram District, K.K.M.A.Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, pp.13-20.
37. Ibn Meeran Kutty, *Hazarth Muhammad Shah Tangal*, pp.23-26.

Awliyas and Martyr Saints and Their Cults

The Mappilas are staunch Sunnis and with their cultural affinity to Arabs, followers of Shafi school. The 'Quran', Hadith and Shariah form the cardinal principles of their religious life, which are taught in the Madrasas[1] from the very childhood. The religious instruction imparted to Muslims all over Kerala in Arabic has given unique importance to the language. Religious fervour of the community is nourished by Friday sermons and 'Waazs' – Religious discourses – occasionally organized. Professional speakers are engaged by the concerned Mahallu committees for such sermons during the nights of the month of Ramadan and many of the summer nights.

After shariah the popular form of worship is centred round the Muslim divines. The forms and rites and the significance attached to their service make it apt to call them as "the cult of Muslim Divines'. The respect paid to the saints and their shrines render the phenomena of the 'dualism of Islam' all the more striking in the Mappila community. Of the Sufis, common people were concerned not with the philosophy and discipline of the Tariqah but even an initiation to a Tariqa was intended to obtain share of the Karamah and favour of a saint. The notions of 'wali' was strong enough among the Mappilas to command their reverence. Though there is difference of opinion on the concept of Wilayat. "Wilayat" etymologically means "Power to dispose" (tasarruf), and power to command (imarat). Wilayat also means "Lordship" (Rububiyat); hence god hath said "in this case the Lordship (al-Wilayat) belongs to God who is the Truth" (XVII : 42) because the unbelievers seek His protection and turn unto Him renouncing their idols. Wali may also be the Fail form with the meaning of Maful, as God hath said:" And he takes charge of the righteous (VII 195), for God does not leave His servant to his own actions and attributes, but

keeps him under His protection[3]. God may distinguish them in an exclusive way by his friendship for He has said, "He loves them and they love Him" (V.59), so that they turn away from the favour of mankind. He is their friend (Wali) and they are His friends. He may confer on one a friendship (Wilayat) that enables him to preserve in obedience to Him, and keeps him from sin[4] and on another a friendship that empowers him to loose and bind, and makes his prayers answered and his aspirations effectual.[5]

The friends (Awliya) of God, are under His special protection. ' Verily, on the friends of God no fear shall come, and they shall not grieve (II:258). It is said that Prophet said "Among the servants of God there are some whom the prophets and martyrs deem happy". He was asked, "Who are they"? "Describe them to us that perchance we may love them". He replied "Those who love one another, through God's mercy without wealth and without seeking a livelihood. Their faces are luminous, and they sit on thrones of light: they are not afraid when men are afraid, nor do they grieve when men grieve". Then he recited: "Verily on the friends of God no fear shall come, and they shall not grieve". This shows that God has saints (Awliya) whom He has specially distinguished by his friendship and whom he has chosen to be governors of His kingdom and has marked out to manifest his actions and has peculiarly favoured with diverse kinds of miracles (Karamat) and has purged of natural corruptions and has delivered from subjection to their lower soul and passion, so that all their thoughts are of Him and their intimacy is with Him alone"[6]. They are the means whereby prophetic evidence (Burhan-I-Nabavi) is mademanifest. He has made them the governors of the Universe. " Through the blessing of their advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Moslems gain victories over the unbelievers".

'Muhiyud-din Mala of Qazi Muhammed (1906) shows that it has all the above-mentioned ideas as personified in the saint. The Rifai Mala and innumerable such Malas assimilated the concept of Awliya among the common folk. During the whole history of the community till 19th century religious education comprised a rote memorization and recitation of the Quran and the instructions in the forms of worship. Then the Malas and Mouluds were taught.

There is the custom of the brides being visited by the elder ladies of the groom's house before her betrothal. On being questioned of her education the girl was expected to say that she had learnt the Quran and Muhiyiddin Mala[7]. These 'Malas' were sung in all households during nights. Shaykh Muhiyud-din thus became the personification of all human aspirations of the other world 'Tawassul' and 'Isthighasa' were the main features of Mappila prayers after Dhikr and Dua. The life after death, good and evil, heaven and hell were so vividly presented before common Mappilas in Friday Khutbas and occasional sermons, that he sincerely yearned for protection from hell-fire. Illiterate masses reverently listened to the half-chant speeches of Moulvis and Musliars in the later halves of the nights for they were told that sitting there was sitting in the 'Majilis of 'Ilm' for which Allah would reward them.

The bliss of heaven were beyond mortal imagination. They were told that after death one will have to cross the bridge of Sirat al-Mustaqim to reach the paradise. Sirat al Mustaqim was made of one split of the seven splits of a female hair. At the bottom of it will be the raging hell-fire. The true Muslims will comfortably cross over to the other side and the sinful ones will fall to the fire below. In the fire they will be torn to pieces by terrific serpents. Their skins and bones would be burnt but will be replaced by God so that they will be eternally tormented. Women who allow their hair to be seen will have to wear a Makkana[8] (Veil) of fire[9]. Moulavis would present a graphic description of hell, where the Prophet in his 'Miraj' (Nocturnal journey) saw more ladies than men and how the various methods of ghastly punishments were being meted out to the sinners in hellfire according to the varying degree of their sins. The fate of the Doomsday, its horrible incidents as depicted in the Quran, the trial, and one's own limbs testifying against him are described. The hardships suffered by the prophet and his companions will be presented in moving terms. Men would sigh, aged ones would shed tears and female folk would weep, and would contribute their ornaments to the community's fund. Men would let out a sigh of relief as they hear of the intercession of Ashraf al-Khalq Nabiyyuna Muhammad Mustafa[10]. The technique adopted by Musliar and Moulavis to instill religious devotion was to magnify even casual omission of religious duties manyfold and to magnify its punishments to many hundred times.

Thus for the common man with his deep guilty consciousness, his only one hope of relief is that of intercession of the Prophet. After the prophet, the power of intercession was bestowed only on Auliya (friends of God). Thus begins the attempt to win the favour of these saints by reciting their Mouldis and chanting the Dua and Dhikrs, either the special Dua of the Tariqah or composed in a saints name by an ardent disciple.

The studies conducted for this work revealed that the respect for Aüliya, and regard for saints and the number of the popular saints are more in the interior Mappila settlements. This had to be explained with regard to the fact that the community here was composed of mainly converts from the lower castes. Kerala is a land where innumerable gods and goddesses are worshiped by non-Muslims. The lower castes have a good number of Devis (mother goddesses) and 'Mooppans'[11] for every family had its Bhagavati (goddesses) and typical of female domination of the matrilineal society. The Harijans and other lower castes with caste pollutions had to stick to their gods; festivals were held, songs were sung and for every communal activity or social events like sowing, harvesting, birth, marriage, death, evil spirit possessions and illness, a special deity had to be invoked. An adored hero was deified and on the appointed day, his 'Utsavam' (celebration) was held when a dancer would act his role in front of a temple or Kavu[12], or a Velichappad possessed by the spirit of the deity and would dance in trance and make forecasts and orders. The converts from such social groups could not all of a sudden shake themselves off their traditions. These social customs were followed and the Muslims community was influenced by them[13].

It is the women-folk who were more loyal to their tribal gods and goddesses. And it was they who had brought their gods and goddesses to the husband's house thus helping in assimilating the old and new together and influencing the new cult. In other words there survived impressions of the displaced religions of the lower classes, whose blood is in the Mappilas. There is much vowing in the way that Hindus vow, and prayer is offered to the deceased and semi-deified persons, notably priests and Tangals and Shahids[14]. The saints and Awliya of Mappila Muslims served well as a substitute for the old deified heroes. The Kula Devata (Family goddess) could be replaced by the patron saints fulfilling their psychological

urges and social necessities even in the new creed.

An incident noted by E. Thurston in 1909 may be cited as example. A beggar died of starvation by the road side in Walluvanad Taluk. When alive no one worried about him. But after he died it was said that celestial voices had been heard uttering the call to prayer at the spot. The Mappilas then decided that he was a very holy man and should be canonized after death. A 'Jaram' was built; light was burnt during night; a banner was hoisted by the devotees and a money box was placed to receive contributions from hundreds of devotees[15]. This act is quite identical to canonization of a hero, in the cult of hero worship. But the influence of the old tradition in the new environment cannot be over-rated. The power of intercession as propagated by the disciples of each Shaykh and the Tawassul and Istighasa were more important to common folk.

The Shuhadakkal – Martyr saints – are held in high esteem by the Mappilas. The Shuhadakkal are found only in Malabar. These Shuhadakkal were those who died in the cause of the community in Jihads preached by the Ulama, like Shaykh Zaynuddin. It was an extension of crusade's enmity to eastern wealth[16]. From the day of landing of Vasco da Gama at Kappad beach, near Calicut in 1498, that Jihad began. Mappilas arrayed themselves against the 'worshippers of the cross' through the centuries that followed. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English were all worshippers of the cross to them, against whom calls of Jihad were made. The call to Jihad was made by Shaykh Zayn ud-din Ibn Ali[17] the Makhdum (younger) of Ponnani and Qazi Muhiyud-din of Calicut[18] and the like. The Mappilas fought for four centuries ending the fight with the Mappila rebellion of 1921. In the very first chapter of Tuhfat, Zayn-ud-din says, "The war against unbelievers (Jihad) is an obligatory duty imposed upon every Muslim, who is strong to undertake it whether he be a slave or female, of the city or a dependant, without permission of the chief, the husband or the creditor"[19]. The Quranic injunctions are then given. 'Verily Allah, glory be to Him and exalted be He, has said "Fighting is prescribed for you and you dislike it; but it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knows, while you know not"[20].

"Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead; nay, they live finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the beauty provided by Allah, and with regard to those left behind who have not yet joined them in their bliss, the Martyrs' glory is in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they cause to grieve[21], On the reward of Martyrs, Hadiths from "Sahih Bukhari' and 'Muslim' were cited in support. Abu Hurayra says that the Prophet has said- "No one who fights in the way of Allah is wounded, but Allah knows better about him who is wounded in His cause, that he shall appear on the Day of Judgment and the blood that flow from his wound shall be of a red colour like blood but its odour will be as that of musk".

It was believed that the blood of a martyr will be a witness on the day of Judgement and the martyrs were not bathed before burial by Mappilas.

Sahl Ibn Sa'd relates that the Prophet has declared "Engagement for one day in the way of Allah (Jihad) is better than the world and all that it contains".

Tirmidhi and Abu-Daud relates on the authority of Fauzalat Ibn Ubayd, "The Prophet of Allah said: "Every man who dies set a seal to his work except the one who dies fighting in the way of Allah. His work continues to grow till the Judgement day, and he is safe from confusion in the grave"[22].

Darimi relates in his Musnad on the authority of Abu Hurayra : "The Prophet said : 'To engage for a while in the way of Allah, is better than to make fifteen pilgrimages".

These theological incentives kindled the desire for martyrdom. The above mentioned principles were rendered in terms understandable to the illiterate folk in the Mappila folk songs.

Mahakavi Moyin Kutty Vaidyar, the great Mappila poet and author of the *Badrul Munir – Husnul – Jamal* wrote his Mala (song) on the Malappuram Shahids[23]. He wrote on the reward of Martyrs. "If we die fighting with the wicked men who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God we shall obtain complete salvation. Occasion to fight and die for the faith is like unto embarking in a vessel which has come to

bear the believer to the shores of bliss. Therefore embark ! How well of you that such a vessel has come! It will bear you to the broad gates of heaven. Is it not for the arrival of such vessel that we should pray? The pleasures of wealth or family are not equal to an atom of celestial happiness. Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in the battle can see the houris who will come to witness the fight. There is nothing in the world to compare with the beauty of the houris. The splendour of the sun, of the moon and of the lightning is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows forehead and head are incomparably lovely. Their lips are like corals; their teeth like the seeds of the talimatalam; their breasts like cups of gold, the pomegranate or like beautiful flowers. If they bathe in the sea the salt become like honey, and as fragrant as a attar. If they were to come down to earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but hear the music of their voice. If they clap their hands the clang of their jewels will be heard at a distance of 500 years' journey. They clap their hands and dance and sing as they come like swans to the battle field. If a human being were to see their beauty, their smile or their dance, he would die (with longing) on the spot. Gently they touch the wounds of those who die in battle, they rub away the blood and remove the pain; they kiss and embrace the martyrs, give them to drink of the sweet water of heaven and gratify their every wish. A horse caparisoned with carpets set with precious stones will be brought and a voice will say 'Let my men mount; Let them dance with the celestial houries"[24].

The effect of indoctrination of martyrdom is best evident in the confessions of a Mappila rebel who had surrendered in 1898. He said: "We are taught that if we become Sayyids[25] after killing a Kafir, it becomes a blessing for us. Now we have surrendered instead of being killed, we cannot earn the bliss of Sayyids in any way and I don't now wish to stay here but to go to Mecca"[26]. A Martyr, to a Mappila, was thus a born heir of 'Firdouse' under the special protection of Allah. This concept naturally commanded respect.

There was another source of respect that the Shahids could claim from the community. In the 16th century, Jihad was against the enemies

of faith between what may be called Darul-Islam and Dar al –Harb as the Ulama preached, a real armed struggle in the battle field. But in the 19th century it was against the oppressors of the tenants. In the context of the 'ritual suicide[27] a man first would give up all his property and divorce his wife. But Fawcett's observation that "many of them had nothing of their own to give up except their wives", make the living condition of the Mappila peasants more than clear. To view this phenomena in the rural context of the 19th century India will be to equate them with the 'armed resistance' of peasants against Mughal oppressions. The social reform movements that had started in the late part of 15th century by Kabir, Dadu and Gurunanak brought about a new basis for community essentially opposed to caste divisions". When radical ideas such as contempt for caste and the sense of unity under a new and convincing faith established themselves in the minds and hearts of the masses, the sects could not always remain confined in their old mystical shells and it provided inspiration for two of the most powerful revolts against the Mughals[28]. In the same way it was a peasant uprising enabled by absolving the caste stigma with the acceptance of Islam. It has to be remembered that in the interior the converts were mainly from the lower castes. We have also noted that one of the aims of conversion was revenge either on family or community. If it is not the burning revenge against the oppressor, either British officials or landlords how else can it be explained that a converted Cheruman[29] led the outbreaks of 1896 or that one who had become a Mappila only 15 hours earlier took part in the revolt and was shot dead. Truly it was the community's reaction to the new economic and political strains created by British administration. Thus to a common Mappila, a Shahid was also a Martyr in his liberation struggle, the struggle for existence, and for economic freedom and freedom from exploitation and discrimination. The shahid to him was a pioneer who die for a common cause and hence a hero commanding respect. In other words martyrdom was attained for a materialistic gain too but the movement was doctrinised in religious context.

The Walis and Shahids were adored throughout the Muslims world. It was popularly believed that prayers at the grave of martyrs were very efficacious in averting ailments and misfortunes. "Baba Farid" writes Prof.K.A.Nizami, "often used to pray in a graveyard outside the city where

many martyrs lay buried. One day the Shaikh fell seriously ill. He called Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and some other disciples and asked them to go to that graveyard and pray there for his health"[30]. "When Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's mother fell ill she sent her son to the graves of various martyr-saints to pray for her recovery"[31]. Perhaps no other society had more saints than Mappilas. They adored Abubakr, Umar, Uthman, Ali, Hamza, Bilal and all companions. "Oh, Badringal"[32] was a common invoked prayer. The Malas of Uhd Pattu, Hunayn, Khandaq and Tabuk were sung in every household. Th Wafat Malas of Khadija Bivi and Fatima Bivi were sung with great commotion among ladies which would end in weeping and wailing. The "Shahid Mala Pattu" were held in high esteem. The composer of Malappuram Pața Pattu claimed that it was a "Hymn of praise for the benefit of all mankind". It was named "Kulliyat ul-Shifa".[33] The Pattu or Mala-garland, was composed as a necklace for kings "and those who wear (recite) this necklace here will be rewarded by God hereafter with a necklace of gold"[34].

The Moulids were composed on important Walis and Tangals or even on Badringal and other Martyrs. On appointed days the "Moulud" was recited by specially invited Musliars, Mullas and other religious functionaries joined by elders. The 'fatiha' and a communal feast was followed by a long invoking prayer to avert ailment or bad luck or evil spirits, or as a token of gratitude on the fulfilment of a desire and for cure or on fulfilling a vow.

Nerchas and Urs were celebrated on community basis in a Mahallu or even by wealthy individuals.

The Jarams were venerated, guarded and maintained. People believed that martyr's and Walis' dead bodies may not decompose. They will be intact till the Last Day. Stories are prevalent that a chieftain saw that a saint was dead and buried somewhere near, and when his grave was opened for raising a Jaram the body was found intact. Lights were kept burning and incenses were burnt. People made vows or Nerchas to the tomb and these vows were later fulfilled. Enormous sums were thus received as offerings. The practice of being touched by the flag of the Appani Shaykh[35] Jaram was considered auspicious, 'Jaram Mudal'[36] was an important vow.

In distress a Mappila would invoke "Mamburam Tangal" "Saidakkanmar" and a lower caste or Harijan would invoke "Mamburattu Poyavar"[37]. The Urs of these saint and Shahids were celebrated with varying stress on important incidents that happened during the lifetime of the divines. Sometimes it is distribution of 'Tabarruk' or a communal feast' or fire works or simple sermons. People considered partaking in these feasts a devotional act[38].

As their Barakah and Karamah were believed to have been embodied in their 'Jarams', those structures became objects of popular devotion. They acquired position of patron saints of the community of a particular area or of a trade. Hydross Kutty Moopan of Chavakkad is the patron saint invoked by fishermen of both Muslims and non-Muslims. In Ullal Dhargha of Hazrat Sayyid Madani (16th century) may be seen replicas of ships, launches, and pattemars, dedicated to the Shrine to fulfil the vows taken for protection from the perils. At the time of the boisterous sea, the people in the sea shore would believe that the sea will advance only upto the tomb of their local saint and the saint's Karamah would halt the raging wave there. People wanted to have pious men buried at their places. So was the case of Beeran Auliya, (d.ca.1975) whom people believed to have been possessing Karamah[39]. Qabars were dug for him in important places of his activities but he died in his own native village in eastern Mappilanad. The people believed that his Jaram would be a source of blessing.

The Tangals[40] are adored throughout Malabar. They command respect due to their blood relation to the Prophet. People confer the honorific Tangal even on those pious men whom they hold in esteem[41]. Their presence was sought after at the time of communal feasts like wedding; their blessings were solicited for starting any new venture like business or on the opening of a mosque. The foundation stones were often laid by Tangals, or the flags were hoisted for important meetings by them. Their presence and Fatiha were considered auspicious. The best example of the trust of the community in Tangals in recent times was the election of Muhammad Ali Sahib to the presidentship of Kerala State Muslim League. With a Masters Degree from Al-Azhar, this young man was new to Kerala politics. But the people had so much love and devotion for his deceased

father that they readily raised him to the seat left vacant by his father's death.

Notes

1. There are over 2500 Madrasas in Kerala employing more than 25000 religious teachers. P.A. Syed Mohammed, Kerala Muslim Directory, p.669. Side by side with theological sciences, Arabic language is taught in all these Madrasas. Of their significance to Mappilas, R.E. Miller says, "The Madrasa is the wonder and strength of Mappila Islam".
2. For the significance of dualism of Islam in daily life, see Chapter on Ideology and Practices.
3. Ali al-Hujwiri, *The Kashf al-Mahjub* (tr.R.A.Nicholson), pp.210-11.
4. As *Muhiyiddin Mala* has it, 'I am free from all sins', p.3.
5. 'My wills are the will of God', *Ibid.*, p.4.
6. Ali al-Hujwiri, *op.cit.*, pp.21213.
7. C.N.and K.K.M. A. *Arabi Malayala Sahithyam,* p.44.
8. Fawcett, "War Songs", I.A. Vol XXX, (1901),p.504.
9. Before the common use of Sari came to custom Mappila women used to wear a coloured Mundu (lungi) and embroidered full blouse with full sleeves and a Makkana (Makkana-veil).The Black Makkana with guilded front part worn under the tattam (long guilded shawl) worn by Mappila bride seems to be identical with Arab bedouin bride's dress and seems of foreign origin. Nobody else used this black Makkana.
10. The noblest of the created is our Prophet Muhammad.
11. Literally it means leader, but actually a god, Moopan is the term now used for elder or supervisors of various working groups like fishermen, wood cutters, and peasant labourers. With the increased frequency of deification of the dead it is possible that the Moopans were old chieftains. Sometimes they were evil deities too.
12. The small places of worship where the deified gods are installed.
13. The phenomena of mutual influence and cultural influence brought about in Kerala is termed as "Symbiosis" by M.G.S. Narayanan, See Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala,Introductory.
14. Fawcett, War Songs, *I.A.Vol XXX* (1901),p.505.
15. E.Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, IV, p.482. Similar incidents have been reported from many places. It is said that in Areacode, now the strong Mujahid centre in Malappuram District, once an old beggar happened to sit on a rock on the road side and to murmur something. The passers by decided that he was a wali and carried him on their shoulders. Meanwhile, some people from the oldman's village were coming to town. They exclaimed "where are you carrying our...?" The people out of shame dropped the man on the ground and ran away. The incident is still humourously cited by Sunni opponents.
16. For a detailed history of struggle, Chapter I.
17. "*Tuhfat....*" the title means, gratuitious gift to the holy warriors in respect of a brief account of the Portuguese. Completed in 1583 the book was compiled "with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the cross; for, a holy war with them is an obligatory duty".p,13.
18. "Fathul Mubin" - complete victory of Qazi Muhammed was an eye witness' report of the Chaliyam battle of 1571 between the Portuguese and the Zamorin and Mappilas under him.It was written for the information of the Kings of 'Sham' and 'Iraq' so that they may come to the help of Zamorin in his fight against the Portuguese.

Jawahir al-Ashar, pp.214-63.

19. *Tuhfat*, p.19
20. Sura II Verse 216.
21. *Tuhfat*, p.30.
22. Tuhfat, p.30
23. The song was composed on 44 Martyrs who died fighting Paranambi, the Governor of the Zamorin who had destroyed mosques and were harassing the community with eviction and confiscation in 1141 A.H/ 1729A.D.
24. Fawcett, *op.cit.*, p.507.
25. An obvious misprint of Shahids.
26. Madras Record Office, Judicial G.O.S. Nos 1737-1740, p.25 as quoted in Stephen F.Dale, The Mappila Outbreaks.....*Journal of Asain Studies XXXV (1) (1975)*, p.94. Once it was decided to become Shahid the man would divorce his wife, give away his property and all connections with this world. Both he and his family took it that he was dead. If he did not meet with death his family members never bothered to meet him or take him back.A mother would only exclaim "Why this would be Shahid did not die?"
27. Dr. Stephen F.Dale in his studies uses the term 'ritual suicide' as all the participants were bent on being killed.
28. Irfan Habiab, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.333.
29. A Scheduled Caste in Kerala. Incidentally it was from Cherumans and Kanakkan (another scheduled caste) that Islam drew the largest number of converts.
30. K.A. Nizami, *Life and times of Shaikh Farid ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p.43.
31. K.A.Nizami, religion and Politics....p.300.
32. The Shahids of Badr.
33. Remedy for all ailments.
34. Fawcett. War songs *I.A.*p.505.
    "As pearls and rubies were strung together I have strung the Muhiyad- ud-din Mala, Oh people", wrote Qazi Muhiyiddin. The concept of Mala perhaps takes its origin from these words.
35. In Calicut, Al-Shaykh Abul Wafa Muhammed al-Kalikuty.
36. It is covering the Jaram with a white cloth. The significance cannot be assertained. The devotees would go to the tomb of the saint on whom Nercha is made and inform the custodian, generally a descendant of the saint or a functionary appointed by them. He would then place a long folded white cloth over the Jaram and recite Fatiha. He then would demand the price of cloths which implies that the devotee has brought the cloth himself and bestowed it to the deceased saint.
37. Those who have gone to Mamburam.
38. For details see chapter on'Sufism and Mappila Life'.
39. For Biran Awliya's Karamah see Chapter on 'Sufism and Mappila Life'.
40. "The Tangals are a small section among the Moplahs which traces its ancestry through the progency of the prophet's daughter Fatima", They are known as Sayyids elsewhere in the Muslim world. Victor S.D'Souza in Imtiaz Ahamad (ed) *Caste and Social Stratification among the Muslims*, p.49.
41. The Naqshabandi Shaykhs accept the title Tangal. Those people who returned from the Andamans after banishment claimed to be Tangals. "Among the Hindus of Kerala the term is reserved only for the Nambudiri Brahmans" for their social significances, *Ibid.*pp.49-60.

Sufism and Mappila Life

During the Taifa Stage, the main reason for men getting introduced to a Tariqah was the desire to get the blessing or Karamah of the Saint. The reputation of Saints varied according to their power to perform Karamahs. So the Murids, devotees and sympathizers helped in giving currency both to trustworthy and also unreliable Karamahs.

Saints, Sufis and non-Sufis were readily given the honorific title of Auliya by the Mappilas[1]. They were then considered to be the near ones to God, and befitting treatment of Wali were meted out to them. Even during the life time of Biran Auliya, Moulud was held in his honour[2]. The Mappila concept of Auliya was always as personified in Muhiyiddin Mala. All the hagiographic works that followed were composed on similar lines[3]. Rifai Mala, second only to Muhiyidin Mala in popularity, has characterized Ahmad al-Rifai as an 'Auliya'. It should be remembered that Rifai Mala was sung in every household in the early hours of the night and especially on appointed days[4]. "When his carrying mother asked whether it is son or daughter, he said, Son, the Ahamad al –Kabir" when he was to be born on earth he asked God "If Paradise is given to me and to those who follow me, I shall descend on earth". "I am there in Ilm al-yaqin 'Ayn al-Yaqin and Haqq al-Yaqin", he said. "I have created you to be company with me, thus he heard the words". "The eighteen thousand worlds are not sufficient for one step of mine, he said". He is characterized as the unique Wali because "for forty days 'Khizr' came and stood in front of him but he did not utter a word and then Kizhr said "I have not seen any one like him among the Auliya"[5] The Auliya were considered to be above all the creations of Jinn and Ins. Jinn were at their command as people believed, that it was with the help of Jinn that they performed miracles. Jinn would even fight for them.[6] People believed that anything incomprehensible to their mind was done by supernatural beings, the

Jinn.

They were the people to whom 'Ghayb' was made known,as the Mappilas believed. The Muhiyi-din Mala and Rifai Mala have verses to the effect that their eyes were always in Lawh (Lawh al-Mahfud), the most secret thing known only to God. Some Karamah connected with Mecca and 'Haram' are always attributed to all Saints. One day, people saw Hazrat Sayyid Madani while performing ablution, throwing water in the air three times. When they asked him he said "I saw a fire in Haram". That year Hajis who returned after Hajj confirmed that there was a fire in Haram and the water from the sky descended to extinguish it[7].

It is believed that they could ride over time and space. Muhiud-din was considered omni-present. "If anybody calls me from any land I will answer him before he closes his mouth (finishes the call) sayeth Muhiy ud-din". One day, Abdul Qadir Sani was travelling in a boat from Baliapatam to Cannanore. When the boat was nearing the Port the Shaykh disappeared. The fellow sailors landed and finished their prayers. Then the Shaykh returned and said "My teacher (Shaykh), Ahmad al-Khabushani died and I performed the prayer (Namaz) for the dead"[8]. Another instance is cited in his Manaqib that one day a group of his Murids were going back after visiting him. Meanwhile at Cannanore[9] they performed the Subhi Namaz and began to recite the 'Awrad' advised by the Shaykh. One of them committed a mistake. Then they heard the sound of a strong blow from the Shaykh's walking stick. They were terror-stricken. Some of them out of fear began to recite the awrad aloud and some of them wept and there amidst them stood the Shaykh with his stick in hand[10]. People believed that this was made possible by Jinn's help. Such a concept itself was taken from Prophet's Miraj (Journey to heavens), when He transported His servant in one night from 'Masjid al – Haram to Masjid al-Aqsa'[11]. He could have the knowledge of hidden things due to Gabriel's assistance because when he was questioned by those who did not believe the story of his ascendence on the Dome of Rock, it is said, that Gabriel held a replica of the sacred Dome of Rock and the Prophet described it to those who questioned. Angels will be obedient only to Prophets but Jinns could be propitiated and made obedient by 'Jinnu seva'.

Several Manaqib and Malas would ascribe to their hero the power to know what is in a man's heart without being told of it. It was quite the same what Prof. K.A. Nizami mentioned of Shaykh Farid, that "he could read a man's inner heart by a glance at his face"[12]. Not a single work among the hagiographic literature produced in Kerala is without the Saint or Wali curing an incurable disease, curing the blind or very old disease. The saints were even otherwise well known for their knowledge of medicine. Elsewhere in this work reference has been made how in a folk play, the 'Malamkali' a Muslim is characterised as a physician. People believed that by the Karamah of the saint, recitation of his Mala would keep off all Balal[13] and Musibat[14]. One of the lines of Istighasa in the Badr Mala runs:

> "All the Balal and 'Afat and strains and Musibat, Oh God please give me Shifa from them all, with the Barakah of Badringal[15].

People believed that reciting these Malas itself would bring happiness to the one who recited and to the whole household. Illiterate masses considered it auspicious to have copies of these Malas in their houses. A guest would ask for a particular Mala to sing himself or if it was an elderly person he or she may ask children of the house to sing it to them[16]. Perhaps the best example of such beliefs was the Malappuram Patappattu" – Malappuram war song the most popular song in Malabar and which was said to be one of the stimulations to the Mappila rebellion of 1921. The author named it 'Kulliyat al-Shifa'(Remedy for all, that is 'Hymn of praise for the benefit of all mankind'. That was composed as a necklace for the kings. Those who wear that necklace here will be rewarded by God hereafter with a necklace of gold. Naming every ill and misfortune possible to men the author prays to God that for the sake of the Malappuram Shahid the man (who recites) may come to no harm. The song is also intended to be repeated amidst vows in times of sickness, for want to be supplicated, diseases to be cured, wells to be filled and even cholera to be driven away"[17].

Sea faring people, fishermen, and boat-men had special devotion to certain saints. The importance of the Saint of Ullal Dargha, Sayyid Madani, is discussed in the last chapter. Hydross Kutty Moopan of Chowghat has the position of Patron Saint of fisherman community of both Muslims and

non-Muslims. One of the Karamah of Mamburam Tangal is said to have saved a lost ship. Once he asked one of his Murids to bring a bundle of Olas, dry coconut palm leaves[18]. Then he asked one of them present to climb on top of a coconut tree and to wave the burning bundle in the air. Far in the sea, those seamen who had lost their course had prayed to Mamburam Tangal for help. The sailors saw the light and they paddled ashore[19]. Poor farmers could also invoke his belssings against pests[20].

The dualism of Islam and attachement of women folk to Pirs are discussed in the second chapter. All the saints could be invoked for a smooth delivery. A number of Malas, Mouluds and Manaqibs that were examined for the study revealed the fact that they had special appeal to women[21]. It was believed that if the Cheruseeti Tangal Mala was sung for 41 days barren women will conceive[22].

The fishing community of Badagara, where Cheruseeti Tangal's Jaram is situated, believed that if the sea is without fish they could invoke his belssing for a good catch. Lost things could be recovered by making vows to the Saints. It is recorded in the Mamburam Mala that a man approached the Tangal complaining of the loss of his ox. The Tangal gave him a key and told him to go back and he would get back his ox. It was raining heavily when the man was on his way back and he took shelter on the varanda of locked and uninhabited house. The wind and rain was too severe that he could not withstand the cold. He said to himself, "why should not I try to open the house with this key". He opened the house, and there stood his lost ox in the room. The man remembered with gratitude the words of the Tangal[23].

The veracity of the above Karamah and Barakah as people believed may be questioned, but the intent behind them were sincere love and blind belief in the Saints. It has got some practical values too. The Kondotty Tangals still removes the thorn or bones from throat with chanted plantain. The most curious fact is that if the patient cannot eat the plantain his friend will be asked to squat with their backs touching each other and will be made to eat the fruit. The patient would get relief by this act[24].

Mappilas considered it solemn to take an oath. 'By the foot of Mamburam Tangal' is the sacred seal for every Mappila contract. They also

swear in their saint's names. Mappilas believed that if false vows were taken or oaths were made, the liar would be punished by the saint. Many Malas have that on false vows a person lost his sight. These Walis were, thus the guardian saints of common folk, the fountain of their hopes and solace in distress.

Devotional acts to the saints consisted of celebration of Moulids and performance of Ratib. Celebration of Moulids of prophet and Saint was practised in other parts of Islamic world too. Muslim legal opinion considerably differed on the topic. Ibn Taimiyya (d.1328 A.D) condemns it and Hallaj (d.1336), his contemporary, criticised the participation of women. Suyuti (d.1505 A.D) concluded it as an innovation but bidha hasana. He considered the recitation of the Quran and of the history of the Prophet often in verse or in a combination of prose and poetry as the core of the celebration, and the processions, feastings and fairs later accessories. These panegyries on Prophets life later on began to emphasize its miraculous character and dwell reverently and extravagantly on his manaqib or virtues. Later on recitation of Maulids was conducted on all important occasions. The fact that 'Dhikr' meetings are an integral part of Maulid celebrations testifies Sufis' role in popularising Moulids. Later on , Moulids and Manaqibs came to be composed on all important companions, heroes, Sufis and Saints. They were recited on on the third, seveth or fortieth day of death or on the occasion of circumcision ceremony, on fulfilling a vow, or on starting any new venture. On appointed days, often on the day of death of a Saint, Moulids are recited or on particular days of the week by devotees[25].

The Nerchas[26] are celebrated with great pomp and reverence by the Mappilas on the day of death of the Saint. The term used in Andu Nercha[27]. In the case of Kondotty Nercha, the day is fixed by the Murids and the Tangals. This Nercha has no fixed date. The date is fixed when the paddy fields around the 'Kubba' are harvested in the summer for convenience of the assembling devotees. It is on the conclusion of Kondotty Nercha that the Tangal and Murids declare the date of the 'Pullara Nercha'[28]. Days before the Nercha 'Kodiyettam'[29] is conducted. A white banner is hoisted on a permanent flag-post[30]. This flag-hoisting is followed by similar acts by the devotees. During the Urs season white flags may be seen fluttering all over the adjascent localities. Special sweets-shops fully

decorated, sell the special 'Nercha Mittayi'[31] and people send them to relatvies as a token of love and respect. On the days of the Urs, 'Varavu'[32] or 'Petti'are conducted. These 'Varavu' are made colourful and interesting with bands playing, dancing and even fancy dress. Groups from various localities compete in making them most colourful. "The banner bearer goes ahead followed by the musicians. Then follow some young men of the party, encircling their leader, and dancing according to the tempo given by him. He swings a sword, a stick or a handkerchief in the air and dances with them, thus giving the tempo.....While singing and dancing the party clap their hands in a rhythemical way".[33] The above description of Von Grunebaum of the Urs festival of Musa Nabi in Jerusalem seems to be quite typical of such processions or 'Varavu' in Malabar too. These varavu are received by the representatives of the Dargha near the shrine and in the case of Kondotty Nercha the Tangal's representatives rides a horse half a mile from the Jaram to welcome the procession. The offerings carried are bestowed to the Shaykh. In Kondotty and Malappuram Nerchas, the communal harmony is exhibited in the act of the last 'Varavu' of a Tattane Petti.[34]

The most important Nercha of Mappilas is the Malappuram Nercha which commemorates the death of forty four Mappilas martyred in a battle against the Hindu ruler of the area defending a mosque in the year 1148 A.H./ 1734 A.D., according to the Mala.[35] This Nercha, more than any other single event, illustrates the emotional spirit, occasionally approaching frenzy, which arises from the religious commitment of especially the poorer and uneducated Mappilas. Parades (Varavu) from several villages come to the narrow street of old Malappuram bringing money offerings and bearing flags. The columns mass together and proceed with high commotion to the mosque where the martyrs are buried. On the way, they are met by representatives of the four original families from whom the martyrs came and are escorted to the mosque where they place the flags on posts and give gifts to the head of the mosque.

Because of the explosive nature of the gathering, frequently erupting into violence, and in the light of tensions related to participation, the Madras Government placed a ban on the conduct of the festival in 1947. In 1957, it was again permitted by the Communist Government of Kerala

as a favour to Muslim voters, but after violent incidents it was banned again in 1960. In 1967 and 1972 the Government granted permission to conduct the Nercha under the supervision of large numbers of special police.

The Appani Nercha conducted at the Shaykh's mosque in Calicut is next in importance. Shaykh Abul Wafa Muhammad al-Kalikuti was a man well versed in physical feats and he had led the Muslim armies in the Battle of Chaliyam in 1571 A.D. against the Portuguese. He died on 18th Rajab of the year 980 A.H./1579 A.D. His fame had reached far and wide as a Wali with innumerable Karamahs. The sea farers vow to his Jaram 'Appam' the special sweets which they carry even from far off gulf countries.[36] According to tradition one night some Mappilas dreamt that his grave near the shore was being washed away by heavy seas. They hurried to open the grave and found the body not only intact but as it was in life. After that the Saint was reinterred in a safer place and the mosque was constructed. The Nercha is called 'Appam (bread) festival' because Mappilas bring rice-cakes and bread to the mosque as offering, which are later distributed to the poor.[37]

But it is only in the Nercha of Hydros Kutty Muppan of Chavakkad where a replica of Jaram is taken out in procession through the streets. In other Nerchas devotees carry only banners and flags. Hydros Kutty Muppan was a Muslim chieftain of eighteenth century. When Haidar Ali, the Mysorean ruler invaded Malabar, Chavakkad and the nearby villages were entrusted to him. Later on, in the time of Tipu Sultan due to some misunderstanding they became enemies and in a battle Hydros Kutty Muppan was killed.[38] His Barakh is considered helpful from sea perils, especially by fishermen folk regardless of faith. Though Chavakkad is a Panchayath it is the place where price of land is highest due to the flow of foreign money. Vows are made to Saint for Pettiyedukkal.[39] The devotees with gulf money compete in adding pomp and grandeur to the festivals, and the mosque adjacent to the tomb itself being the best example of the community's prosperity. In 1976 forty-six caparisoned elephants were paraded in the procession.

Social and economic causes keep the Nerchas flourishing. People take

em as occasions to family get-together. The convenience of those abroad specially considered in the Malik Dinar Nercha of Kasaragod and it is held ıly once in three years.[40] During the Nerchas devotees bring all their ferings fulfilling their oaths. The floor rent paid by various temporary ıding-stalls, theatres of amusements and moving zoos provide another ıurce of income for the custodians of the Dargahs. The hotels and shops the whole town get roaring business. Therefore, businessmen often ke initiative in organising Nerchas though they may have little faith in ıint or Karamah.

Ratib is another devotional rite performed in Kerala. This is practised by e followers of the famous Sufi Ahmad al-Kabir al-Riffai (d-578 A.H./1182 D). Ratib originated only as 'Award' and *Adhkar*, referred to in the Quran ıd Hadith. But in course of time modifications occurred and they used to ɛ very long and were concluded usually late at night. They were followed y a feast as in the case of Mawlid and were meant for invoking the lessings of a saint for curing an epidemic or for preventing a calamity. atibs of Muhiyid-din Shaykh, and Rifai Shaykh are important. The most opular Ratib recited is Haddad Ratib composed by Abdulla Ibn Alavi-al added[41] (1132 A.H./1726 A.D.). Ratibs were of two kinds, one consisting f only 'Awrad' and 'Adhkar' and the other followed by beating of drums llowed by striking of the body with sticks, clubs, swords or knives.

Ratib is celebrated in Laccadive Islands also where Islam is believed to ave spread from Malabar. Ittaman in his book on 'Amini Islanders' has iven a lively description of a Ratib performance. Dhikrs were sung to the ccompaniment of rhythemic beating of tamburines known as Daffs. This nging of 'dhikr' is known as Baith. The persons who participated in the aith-about 10 or 15 number - grouped themselves into two rows, each olding a Daff in his left hand, and performed a series of well-timed bending xercises, keeping perfect time between bending and beating on their affs, while five or more performers who showed astounding feats with ifferent weapons danced up and down between the rows. Gradually ıe performers who recited the Baith increased the speed of their recitation nd also bending exercises which created a sudden impulse in the erformers of feats who then jumped into the air as if caught in a fit of

frenzy, shouting all the time said Mohammed Kasim and striking their ches or abdomen with all their might with the weapons or instruments lik sword and pointed needles, which they held in their hands.[42] Som performers would pass pointed needles right through their cheeks c lips.The extraordinary thing was that very little blood oozed out fror these wounds.[43] Haddad Ratib was recited in every household after Maghri prayers especially by the ladies.

Aravanakali is another devotional dance. Devotees with Daff stand in circle with their leader in the centre. The songs are 'Baith' or some Mal on some saints. Gradually the song, the beating of the drum and th bending exercises get a fast tempo when the performers move as if in trance. Now-a-days this practice is seen only in Kondotty. The team c performers is trained under Avaran Mulla a near associate of the Kondott Tangal.The Kolkali of Kondotty is another devotional act. Though it is folk play of lower castes in Kerala, it seems that the play might hav continued, obviously the songs being replaced in theme and spirit. Th lower class Harijans still play Kolkali where they sing simple and humorou folks-songs. Instead the Mappilas sing, songs on the Prophet or Shahid: This had been recognised as a Muslim folk-play decades ago. Muslims hav included rhythms and sounds in accordance to their spirit. Familiar word from the Quran and sounds like Allah, Ha-Allah can be heard in dancing The circling of players in the Sufi dances is compared with the eterna circling of the earth and leaping high is described as man's hope, symbol c human longing to reach the High.

Often along waysides in Malabar, may be seen *Nerchapettis*, in th name of some Auliya or Shuhadakkal. Painted green, these boxes ar opened by the custodians of the Mahallu who would utilise the money fc Nerchas. A Mappila would consider it auspicious to have such a box installe on his wall or compound wall on which will be written 'Biran Auliy Nerchapetti, - box to put Nercha (Vow) for Biran Awliya, or any othe Shaykh or Shuhadakkal. In rural Malabar, school-going children would b seen depositing coins in these boxes for passing the examination or nc to be beaten by the Musaliar or Mulla. A passing mother would sudden halt seeing a Nerchapetti and put some coins to fulfil some vow she ha taken earlier to cure her children's disease or to see her daughter wedde

A man with long beard, an old coat and a fez cap with some beads hanging on his hands and a staff from the shoulder, beating a Daff may still be found going round singing some unfamiliar tune in a dull voice and claim Nerchas. He would claim to be the one coming from Ajmir or Nagore. Often a lady with him will have a wooden box with silver replica of human organs-eyes, legs, hands or tongue. The practice is that when the leg is broken or somebody has an eye disease the house-holder mostly women without males knowledge vow a silver leg or silver eye to the Nagore Shaykh or Ajmir Shaykh.[44] The woman would then handover the replica to the ladies. They would return it with its price as demanded by the vagabonds. They believe that their vows are fulfilled. Hardly any one bothers to ascertain whether these Nerchas actually reach Nagore or Ajmir or even to verify the veracity of their claims.

Sufis had an important role in the spread of Islam in South India. It is said while Alauddin Khilji led Muslim Armies to south "the disciples of Nizamuddin Auliya led three consecutive expeditions of their spiritual army, each of which was 700 strong. These Sufi-Missionaries led a spiritual life and by their spirituality and humanity attracted to themselves not only the Muslims but also low-caste Hindus and also a few Brahmans".[45] Malabar was a land where no Muslim invader had entered before 1766.[46] In this land where "different deities co-existed in peace like wild beasts forgetting their natural animosity in the vicinity of a holy hermitage",[47] the peaceful propagation of Islam by the Sufis was welcomed. People who welcomed Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism and Christianity, with innumerable gods and goddesses and a strong tradition of hero worship had no difficulty even in diefying some of the Muslim heroes. The best example is Vavar[48] of Sabarimala and the Mappila Theyyams of Ali Bappan and Ali-Chamundi.[49] The conversion effected by various saints has been discussed in proper contexts. Von Grunebaum's statement that "The miracles of saint cut across denominational lines", is true in the case of Kerala. A lower caste Hindu would take his problems to a local saint to seek his blessings or Barakh for curing a disease or for protection from an evil spirit.

For the Mappilas, adoration and homage to saints and veneration of Sayyids had great practical value. Their unquestioned leadership helped the community in achieving its present status. These divines were

themselves conscious of their responsibility in leading the community as a religious duty. Syed Hussain Kunhi Koya stated: "My reason for joining these people arises from the dictates of religion; for when a member of Mussalmans are in trouble and in danger, it is for us Syeds to join and die with them".[50] True to this commitment the Sayyids and Sufis stood with the community in thick and thin and strove hard for its uplift. It was Putiya Maliyakkal Pukkoya Tangal, an Aydaruse saint who organised the Maunath al-Islam Sabha of Ponnani in 1900 A.D. with 800 representatives from all over Malabar. Vakkam Abdul Qadir Moulavi in Travancore pioneered the uplift of the community in the same time. Makhdum Abdul Aziz Mabari of Ponnani, the Chisti saint personally led the Mappila allies in 1571. Shaykh Abdul Wafa Muhammad al-Kalikutti was himself a good archer who took part in this battle.[51] With him was Qazi al-Qazat Abdul Aziz al Kalikutti. Sayyid Fazal, The Ba-Alavi saint was banished by the British government for his inspiring the Mappila revivalist movement of 19th century.[52] Sayyid Hussain Tangal, the Aydaruse saint and great-grandfather of the present Aydaruse Shaykh was imprisoned by the British and banished in 1882. He died in captivity and was buried in the grave yard of the mosque attached to Baqiyat al-Salihat Arabic College of Vellore. Diwan Rajagopalachari inaugurated an Arabic College on 6th May 1914 at Alwaye and the man behind it was Hamadani Tangal, a Suhrawadi Sufi. From 1911 onwards the Chist Shaykhs, Makhdum Tangal and Valiya Jarattingal Kunhi Sithi Tangal and the Aydaruse Sufi Putiya Maliyakkal Muttukoya Tangal of Ponnani were working for the educational uplift of the community.[53] Ali Musaliyar the leader of the Mappila Rebellion of 1921 was a disciple of Makhdums of Ponnani who spent seven years in Masjid al-Haram for higher studies.[54] Variyam Kunnath Kunhahamed Haji the man who for six month ruled Eranad defying the British Army in 1921, was bullock-cart driver and had only Madrasa education. It was Moulavi Abussabh, the man who topped the highest examination of al-Azhar in 1936, who was instrumental in the foundation of Farook College.

The above examples clearly indicate the fact that Saints, Sufis and theologians were always the leaders of the community in its struggle for survival and attempts for reform. It was not English education but the inner realization of the need that helped the reform of Mappilas. The

political unity of the community under the leadership of Sayyids helped them to bargain for their real rights including reservation in jobs, age relaxation in appointments and proportionate representation in government services. To a great extent it was the charisma of PMSA Pukoya Tangal, the late Aydaruse saint that saved Muslim League from the chaos that followed the death of its former President, Sayyid Abdurabiman Bafaqi Tangal. Bafaqi Tangal was a wholesale rice dealer having ware houses in Burma and Ceylon. He was one of the architects of the present political set-up in Kerala and of the first experiment of coalition government in the country bringing Muslim League to power[55]. The glowing tribute paid by eminent educationalist to Pukkoya Tangal reflects the character of that great lover of humanity. "Pious and loving Tangal combined in him the qualities of a Sufi. He was of course a Sufi, who lived among the people and identified himself with their problems and never an ascetic living in seclusion....He lived among the people and toiled hard to relieve them of their miseries and agonies. His tenderness and unbounded hospitality were just manifestations of his inner love and generosity and they were real source of his captivating personality. His charming low voice had sometimes the power and magnanimity of thunder. All his memories are pleasant and sweet".[56]

Perhaps Muslim divines and Sayyids were more in number in other parts of the country. But they could not take the leadership of the community as among the Mappilas. One reason was perhaps that these people were pushed behind in their confrontation with political power and had to bow down.

In Kerala they were always supreme, never subject to any such authority and were held in high esteem, which made them bold enogh to take the reign in their hand.

These Sufis both living and dead are also responsible for the communal harmony in Kerala. In their presence were settled family quarrels, property disputes, and political and communal discords. Thousands of disputes of mosques were referred to them for solution, hundreds of separated couples were united. If anybody brought a word that the Tangal wanted to settle the problem among themselves, the concerned parties would sit together

days and nights for an agreement and a court was never approached. Their decisions on social and communal problems were regarded with equal respect by Muslims and Non-Muslims, thus averting many a chance of armed conflict. Sufism was a creative ideology and force for the Mappilas; in fact, it was the all-comprising dominant factor guiding Mappila life.

Notes

1. *Supra*, the incident of canonising the dead beggar in Eranad.
2. At Manjeri in a house where a money-box in his name was kept Mouluds were held on every Thursday night in his honour.
3. It would suffice to reproduce Muhiyi din's words. "My wills are the wills of Allah, If I say 'be' (Kun) it will become" (Yakunu) Muhiyidin Mala. p. 4.
4. Rifai Mala's significance as protection against snake-bite and burning has been discussed elsewhere.
5. Zayn ud-din Ibn Ahmad, Rifai Mala. pp. 1-10.
6. When the soldiers attacked the Shrine of Kondotty Tangal they were defeated and ran away from the battlefield abandoning their weapons and even cannon. The devotees believed that they were frightened seeing the Jinn of Tangal. Ibn Meeran Kutty, *Hazrath Muhammad Shah*, pp. 23-4.
7. Qadi Bappan Kunhi Musaliyar, **Sayyid Madani Mala** (Arabi-Malayalam), p. 1. The Manaqib of Abdul Qadir Sani and Nuruddin Mala has similar lines.
8. *Manaqib Abdu al-Qadir Sani*, pp. 8-10.
9. About sixteen miles away from the Shaykh's rersidence at Porathel.
10. *Manaqib Abd al-Qadiri Sani*, p.11.
11. For Jinnu Seva see chapter on ideology and Practices.
12. K.A. Nizami, Life and times of Shaikh Farid ud-din Ganji-iSahkar, p.3
13. Evils.
14. Trouble.
15. The Shahids of Badr.
16. I have seen in my boyhood days elderly guests asking the girls to recite these Malas. A guest would appreciate it and recommend to his relatives that they should hear such and such Mala being sung by so and so.
17. Fawcett, "War songs of the Mappilas of Malabar", *I.A.* XXX (1901). The belief that cholera and small pox were the works of Shaitan, a lingering of the old faith, persisted among Muslims too. A procession with banners of the local Wali chanting mouluds under the Tangal was taken out beating drums to drive away the Satan-devil.
18. People used to tie these 'Olas' in a bundle usually three or four feet long. The bundle is tied so tightly that even when lighted, it wouldnot burn to flames except when waved in the air, These bundles served the purpose of torches.
19. K.K.M.A. Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, pp. 40-45; C.K. Muhammad, *Mamburam Mala* (Arabi-Malayalam), p.4.
20. When farmers complained of the pests one day Mamburam Tangal asked them to catch some insects and put them in a drum. Thereafter the pests disappeared. "The Mala of Shaykh Muhammad Waliyyullah (d.1590) of Palghat has the same Barakh recorded. In the paddy fields of country side of Malabar may still be seen white flags on short poles to guard against pests, obviously a reminiscent of the old flags taken out of a Jaram in bygone days.

21. *Nuruddin Mala*, p.8. *Madani Mala*, p.10. *Teruvatta Palli Mala*, p.7. and *Shadili Mala*, p. 12 (All Arabi-Malayalam works).
22. T. Mohammad, *Cheruseeti Tangal Mala* (1925), Publishers note.
23. K.K.M.A. Kareem, Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal, pp.42-44.
24. Removing bones from throat is a Karamah attributed to many saints. Kondotty Tangals continue this treatment for generations. One night in October 76, some of the non-Muslim friends brought a youth to be immediately taken to the hospital. The doctors at Manjeri District hospital asked him to go the Calicut Medical College. On the way anyhow they decided to try at Kondotty. The patient got cured by the chanted plantain given by the Tangal.
25. The most popular Mawlid recited in Malabar is *Manqus Mawlid* on the Prophet by Shaykh Zayn ud-din Ibn Ali of Ponnani. (d-923-A.H./ 1521 A.D.)
26. Means Annual Urs. Some times the single term 'Andu' (annual) is used.
27. 'Nercha' literally means a vow. The use of the word for festival is derived from the practice of taking oaths in the name of the saint concerned and fulfilling the vows on particular day, Generally on the day of death of the Shaykh.
28. Celebrated in commemoration of some of the shahids of Pullara. This Nercha is significant by its colourful fire works. The experts of fire works of Pullara are often invited to other festivals. The fire works in Urs is a local custom.
29. Flag-hoisting ceremony.
30. Even the 'Kotimaram' (flag post) is considered sacred.
31. Urs sweets prepared only during the season.
32. Varavu means coming. Literally people coming with Petti (box) with offerings to the Shaykh of the deceased saints tomb/Jaram.
33. G.K. Von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, pp.81-83.
34. Tattan means gold-smith. His coming being the last in rural Malabar Tattante petti'as a phrase used for the last item of any work.
35. Ahmad Kutty Musliar, *Malappuram Shahid Nerchappattu*, (Arabi- Malayalam), p.7.
36. K.M. Muhammad Koya, *Al-Shaykh Abul Wafa Muhammad al-Kalikutti* (Mal.), pp.16-20.
37. R.E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, pp. 244-46.
38. P.A. Syed Mohammed (Ed.), *Kerala Muslim Directory*, p. 428, for Mappila festivals pp. 424-28.
39. *Pettiyedukkal* literally means taking the box. Parents would vow that if their son gets Visa they will take 4 or 5 boxes. The ceremony is, an elephant from the Jaram would come to the house, where it will be given something to eat, then go back with the petti (box), one of the family member often a boy riding the elephant if they like. An amount is fixed for one box. If five boxes are vowed either five elephants would go together or an elephant would go five times.
40. In 1975 the President of the celebration of committee explained to me the reason at the 'Urs' festival.
41. Popularity of Haddad Ratib among Mappilas could be attributed to their respect for Ba-Alavi saints of Tarim.
42. Thousands of the viewers witnessed piercing the cheek with an iron needle in an unbelievable manner by the performers on the stage at the exhibition of Mappila arts during the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Farook College, held in 1973.
43. Ittaman, Amini Islanders, pp. 92-93.
44. To Khawaja Muin al-Din Chishti. But only 'Ajmir' is pronounced. Many of them

even may not know who the saint there is.

45. M.G. Panse, Religion and Politics in Early Medieval Decaan (A.D. 100-135O *Journal of Indian History*, IV (1967), p. 684.
46. Hydar Ali invaded Malabar in 1766 with 12000 men.
47. Atula, *Musakavamsa kavya* as quoted in M.G.S Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosi* Introduction, p. 11.
48. Vavar was according to tradition a pirate but later became the close associate c Sri. Ayyappan, the Swami of Sabarimala, the most important Hindu pilgrir centre in Kerala. Ayyappa Darsana is permitted only after making offerings t Vavar.
49. Theyyam is a temple folk-dance of lower castes in north Malabar. It is a corrup form of 'Daivam', god. According to a tradition goddess Chamundi was one da taking bath in a tank. Ali, a Muslim happened to pass by. He was dazed by th beauty of the goddess and tried to do some mischief. The goddess cursed hin and he died. But after death as died due to the curse of a goddess devotee deified him and the Theyyamm of Ali-Chamundi came to be celebrated.K.K.N Kurup, *Cult of Theyyam and Hero Worship*, pp.76•77.
50. Correspondence on Maplah Outrages in Malabar (1849-1853), Vol. III, p. 32 The Tangal was being interrogated for Joining Mappila outbreaks.
51. Qazi Muhammad, *Fathhul Muin* (1573) in Jawahir *al-Ashar*, p. 251
52. K.K. Mohammad Abdul Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Tangal*, p.64. For his role in the outbreaks, see Dr. Stephen F. Dale "The Mappila outbreaks". Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XXXV (1), pp.90- 97.
53. P.A. Syed Mohammed (Ed.), *Kerala Muslim Charithram* (Mal.), pp. 211-20.
54. K.K.Mohammed Abdul Kareem, 1921, *Khilafath Lahalyum Ali Musliyarum*. (Mal.), pp.9-15.
55. For his life and activities, see Attakoya Pallikkandi, *Bafaqi Tangal* (Mal.), pp.7-11
56. Prof.K.A. Jaleel, Article in Panakkad Tangal Smaraka Grandham (Mal.), p. 76.

Appendix - A

Silsila of Tqriqat qadirivya al-Aydarusiyya Wa al-alawiyyah* Prophet

Ali bin-Abi Talib	Abu bakar al Sakrani
Hussain	al-Shaikh Ali
Ali Zain al-Abideen	Abd al-Rahman
Muhammad al -Baqir	Shihab al - Din Ahmad
Jaafar al-Sadiq	Umar
Ali al-arid	Ali
Mohammad	Muhammad
Isa	Ali
Ahamad	Ahmad
Ubaidullah	Ali
Alavi	Husain
Muhammad	Muhlar
Alavi	Husain
Ali Khali al-Qasam	Muhammed
Muhammad Sahib al Mirbat	Ahmad
Ali	Muhammad Ali Shihab
al-Faqih al.Muqadam Muhammad	(The President of Kerala State Muslim League)
Alavi	Muhammad Maula al-Dhawilah
Abd al-Rahman al Qaf	

* The list is prepared from the Manuscript of Muhlar.

Appendix- B

Silsila of the Tariqah of Suhrawardi al-Hamadani*

Prophet

Asadillah Imam Ali bin Abi Talib

Sayyid al-Shahid Hussain

Ali Zayn al-Abidin

Sayyid al -Imam Muhammad al Baqir

Sayyid al-Imam Jaafar Ibn al-Sadiq

Sayyid al-Imam Musa al -Qasim

Sayyid al-Imam Ali Ibn Musa

Maaruf al-Kharqi

sirr al -Qishtiyyi

Junaid al-Baghdadiyyi

Abu Ali al - Raudabaviyyi

Abu Ali -al Khatib

Abu Usman al-Maghribi

Abul Qasim Qurqani

abu bakar al Nassaj

Najmud-din al- Kubra

Majididdin Sharafi al-Baghdadi

Aliyyibin Said Lala

Jamaluddin Ahmad al-Jurjani

'Alaiddaula Isamannani

Mahmud al-Muzdaqani

Sayyid al-Qutbial-Rabbani
Sheikh Ali A-Hamdani al - Hussaini

Kwaja Ishhaq al-Khashaladi

Amir Abdullahil Barshabadi

Rashid al-Baidawazi

Al-Hajj Muhammad al-Khabushani

Nooruddin Muhammad al Khawafi

Sheikh al- Arif al Rabbani wa- al Ghawth al-Samadani al-shaikh Mahmud al Khabushani

Abdul Qadir Sani

Sheikh Ahmad al-ghazzali

Abu nnajib al-Suhrawardi

Ammar bim Yasir al-Baddlisiyyi

* This list is provided in the Mawlid of Porathel Sheikh. It ends with Abdul Qadir Sani. (Abdul Qadir Jilani bing the first). Ponnani Abdul Aziz Musaliyar "Manaqib Waliyyullahi al-Rabbani Wa al-ghawth al-ssamadani al-Shaikh Abdul Qadir Sani Ibn al-Shaikh al-Wali al-Sultan al- Balafatani Usman al-Hamadani.pp.34-35.

Appendix - C

Silsila of Naqshabandi Tariqah of Kerala*

Prophet

Abubaker Siddique	Salman al-farisi
Muhammad Qasim	Jaafar al-Sadiq
Abi yazid al-Bastani	Abi Hasan al-Kharqani
Abi Ali al-farmudi	Yusuf al-Hamadani
Muhammad Fajdawani	Arif al-Ruyukari
Mahmud al-Anjiriyyi	Aliyyu al-Ramathaim
Muhammad Basmasiyyi	Amir al-Kalal
Muhammad Baha ud-din	Muhammad Alauddin
Yaqub al-Jarkhiyyi	Abdullah al-Ahrar
Muhammad al-Zahid	Muhammad al-Darveshi
Muhammad al-Samarqandi	Muhammad al-Baqi
Ahmad al- Faruqi	Muhammad al Maasum
Saif al - Din	Nur Muhammad
Shams ud-din Haibillah	Abdulla al-Dhahlavi
Aba-al-Baha	Abdullahi al-Makkiyyah
Yahya al-dhaghistani	Shaikh Kunhi Ahmad Kutty (Ahmad al-Sufi)
Shaikh qadir Moulavi	Sheikh Ahmad al-Thaqi
Sayyidina Sheikh Ahmad Kutty Thangal	(The present Sheikh popularly known as Kurur Sheikh)

* The list was provided by Sayyidina Kunhi Ahmad Kutty Thangal, the present Shaykh of Naqshabandi Tariqah.

Appendix - D

Table showing the inter relation of the Ba-alavi, Ba-Faqih, Aydarus, Jifri and Ibn Shihab line of Sayyids

Prophet

Ali

Ali Zain Al-Abidin

Imam Jaafar al-Sadiq

Muhammad

Ahmad Muhajir

Alavi

alavi

Muhammad Sahib Mirbat

Muhammad al Faqih al-Maqaddam

(Jifri Line)

(not clear)

Muhammed Mouladdavila

Abdurahman al Saqqaf

Abubacker al-Sakrani

Shaikh Ali Shihabuddin

Abdurahman

Sayyid Hussain

Muhammad al Baqir

Ali al-Urai di

Isa Aqib

Ubaidulla

Muhammad Sahib al-Sawmahar

Ali al- Khali al-Qasm

Ali (Bafaqi Line)

Alavi

Ali

Sayyid Alavi Moualaddavila

(Mamburam Line)

Abdulla al-Aydarus

(Aydarus Line)

Ahmad Shihabuddin

Umar Shihabuddin

Ali

Muhammad

Ali

Ahmad

Ali (first in Malabar)

Hussain

Sayyid Muhlar Kunhiseethikoya

Sayyid Hussain Attakoya

Sayyid Muhammad Koya Kunhikoya

Sayyid Ahmad Shihabuddin

(P.M.S.A.Pokoya Thangal)

Sayyid Muhammad Ali Shihab

(Present Thangal)

Bafaqi Line

Muhammed Sahib al-Mibat

Alavi

Abdurahiman

Ahmad

Abdulla

Muhammad

Ali Sahib al-Hawta

Muhammad

Abdulla

Ahmad

Ali

Muhammad

Ali

Abdula

Shaikh

Ahmad

Hashim

Ahmad

Abdulla

Muhammad

Abdul Qadir

Sayyid Abdurahiman Baraqi Tangal

Mamburam Line

Sayyid Alavi Mouladdavila

Abdurahiman

Sahl Ibn Abdul Rahman

Muhammad Ibn Sahih

Umar Ibn Muhammad

Sulaiman Ibn Umar

Ahmad Ibn Sulaiman

Muhammad Ahmad

Sah--l Ibn Muhammad

Sayyid Muhammad Ibn Sahl

Sayyid Alavi (Sayyid Fasl)

(Mamburam Thangal)

Glossary

Ahl al-Bayt	:	Prophet's family members
Akhiram	:	Life after death
Bank	:	Call for prayer
Barakah	:	Supernatural powers of a holy man
Fatwa	:	Written opinion of the Muhammadan Law-Officer of a court or of a theologian.
Faqir	:	Possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family.
Ghazi	:	A champion, a hero especially one who fights against infidels.
Hafizat	:	Ladies who knew Quran by heart
Ijazah	:	Leave, command, sanction or permission
Imam	:	Chief in religious matters, head of Muhammadans, Priest of a mosque. And in this work reference is made to the concept of Saviour of the community of a certain age.
Istighasa	:	Appeal to holymen for intercession on the Day of Judgement
Jaram	:	Burial place of holymen (Darghah)
Jihad	:	Holy war
Karamah	:	Miraculous powers
Khatib	:	A preacher, a public reader or speaker
Malappattukal	:	Songs in praise of holymen among Mappilas.
Moulavi	:	A learned man, a teacher especailly of Arabic and expounder of Muhammadan Law.
Moulud	:	Memorial sessions held in honour of Saints.
Muadhin	:	The man who utters the call for prayers.
Mulla	:	A Muhammadan Lawyer or learned man, a Judge a Magistrate, the deputy of a Qadi, Village Muhammadan School master also in charge of the

		village mosque.
Musaliar	:	Theologian scholar or Teacher. (Mouavi) The word has close affinity to Sufism, because according to F.Steingass 'Muslian' is the one who 'gives peace'.
Nercha	:	An offering with ritual, an annual festival in honour of a holy man
Nishan Kallu	:	Stones placed on the two ends of a grave.
Poosalan	:	New convert to Islam. In this work referes to the Muslim fishermen converts.
Qadi	:	Top functionary of a Mosque, a Judge
Qiyamam	:	The Judgement Day
Ratib	:	Devotional acts performed by a group of devotees singing in ecstacy and torturing the body.
Sabeena	:	Pious songs
Sanad	:	Charter, Diploma, grant, chain of reporters, Line of succession.
Shahid	:	Martyr
Sharah	:	Commentary
Shirni	:	Sweet dishes
Tangal	:	A Muhammadan or Mappila priest, Sayyid, religious group claiming descent from Prophet.
Tawassul	:	Entrusting ones-self to Muslim divines
Zawiyah	:	A cell, a hermitage
Ziyarat	:	Pilgrimmage, going on Pilgrimmage to any holy shrine among the Muhammadans.

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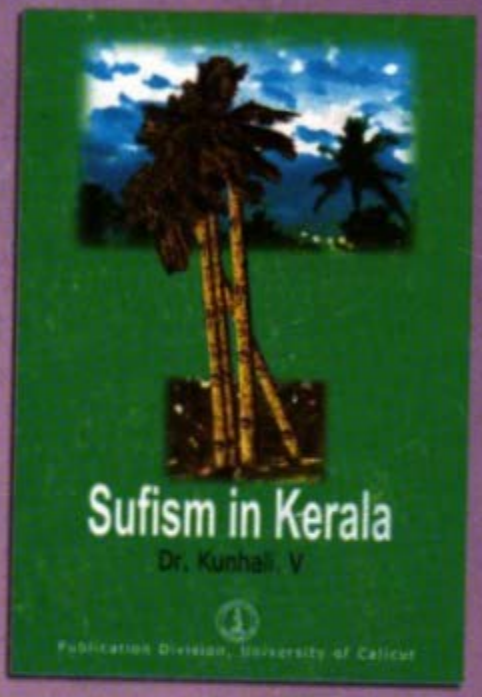

Sufism in Kerala

Dr. Kunhali. V

Even I.H.Qureshi maintained the wrong impression of the complete absence of Sufism in 'South India', and the question of any attempt to study the Sufi elements did not arise as the Dhothi wearing non-Urdu-speaking Mappila did not have any separate identity other than 'Madrasi'. Even Richard Maxwel Eaton writing on Sufis of Bijapur could only quote Annemerie Schimmel's words on the mystic poem of a 'certain Zain al-Din'. Although Athar Abbas Rizvi ain his exhaustive work on 'History of Sufism in India (1978) has given a small appendix on 'The Sufism of South Indian Coast and Islands.' Being the first ever published notes of Sufism in Kerala by a modern researcher, it is limited only to Ibn Battuta's reference of Kazeruni Sufis.